National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 3. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,147.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

HOW FALLEN!

[Twenty years ago, John L. O'Sullivan was the pride of that portion of the Democratic party whose principles and tastes were more or less openly at war with the rule of the Slave Power, and who hoped to redeem the party from its disgraceful subserviency to the "lords of the lash." He was a disciple of Leggett, sharing his opposition to slavery and his elevated aims as a Democrat. How low he has fallen, the following letter, sometime since discovered among the papers of the person to whom it was addressed, will show.]

LISBON, August 25, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I presume you cannot have received the letter which I wrote to you by Gen. Morgan, of date of 25th ultimo. He informs me from Paris that you have changed your residence; that he had sent it to your new lodgings; but that, as he had not heard from you, he presumed you had not received it. I draw the same inference from your silence to me.

In that letter I requested you to return me the book I lent you—presuming that you had done with it, and desiring myself to use it in preparing a public lecture or address in vindication of our negro slavery, which I have long desired to deliver in London, and which would be opportune and useful at this time. I justify slavery on the grounds of an inferiority of race analogous to the temporary inferiority of children to parents, the need of the superior white government and control to the black race itself, the impossibility of the two races subsisting together in such masses in any other relation, the necessity of its undisturbed continuance for the prosperity of the whole country, and the general good of the world, and the superiority of the condition of our slaves over the lower working-classes of all Europe; and I should not shrink from saying all this in Exeter Hall, with hope of being reported, and at the expense of being attacked by *The Times* and all the European press.

Indeed, if I could at present afford it, I would go to London for that express purpose, and I mean to do so as soon as I can. The way to send the book to me is through Mr. John Miller, No. 25 Henrietta street, Covent Garden, London. Please send me, at the same time, a copy of the pamphlet which I see by the American papers you had prepared. If there are any other printed documents which have been issued by the Southern Commissioners I should be glad to see them. If you have received my former letter you will have already understood my position in the division of the Union. The letter I have long ago sent home for publication, at the moment when all the North seemed to rush off, in unanimous insanity, into this diabolical war, and have cut me off, as I have fairly declared to all my friends, from any possible return to the North, even if I were willing to live under the new political principles and practice into which the North has been seduced.

I hope, when I am enabled by my circumstances to return at all, some of your States will give me a home and citizenship. Through this extreme crisis I have stood true to my old principles and sympathies, even when I thought myself to stand alone. In my letter of the 23d ultimo I expressed frankly the painful hope that the army which was then accumulated for the invasion of the South would be "tumbled back across the Potomac." Little did I then anticipate that the Divine justice would so soon to a considerable extent realize the hope which, heart-breaking as it was, truth and the cause of justice wrung from my convictions of right.

I now hope, as the shortest means of ending this mad Republican and Abolitionist war, that you will soon obtain recognition from Europe; and if I were not chained down here by the absolute want of means (which has alone prevented me from going home, probably to get shot or hung as a "traitor" for the course I should there pursue), I would come on to lend you such coöperation toward that end as might be in my power, whether with the pen or the tongue. But I have my wife here, some debts due, all resources cut off, and the success of my still pending mining speculations in this country my sole prospect, both for the payment of those debts and for the support of my family. I have felt and feel very deeply this cruel compulsion, which at such a time literally chains me down at a distance from the scenes of a citizen's duty. I have, however, done all I could by letters for publication over my name, which I have sent to a friend in New York.

Pray let me hear from you. My address here is No. 3 Rue San Caltano, Lisbon, Portugal. There must be some trifling prepayment on letters from France, which you can easily ascertain. Please show this to my old friend Dudley Mann, that he may know my sentiments, and I again subscribe myself as I did before, Your friend and fellow-traitor,

J. L. O'SULLIVAN.

HON. THOS. BUTLER KING, etc., etc., etc.

TAKING "A MORAL VIEW."

From The Journal of Commerce.

WISE men must take a moral view of the state of our country in forming opinions of the immediate future. Everyone can see that if victory at Richmond, and victory at Corinth, were followed up by a convincing proof to the South that abolitionism was powerless at Washington, and had received its death-blow simultaneously with secession, then we might expect a rallying to the Union of the entire body of Southern men, except the leaders, who would be doomed. But if, at the same time, with victory over their armies, we send them proofs that abolitionism reigns in our councils, then they can hardly be expected to yield willingly, and the day of submission is far off. Take for example the passage of Mr. Lovejoy's bill for freedom in the Territories, and trace its probable effect on Southern minds. Vast numbers at the South believe that Congress has no power to legislate slavery into or out of the Territories, and that Mr. Lovejoy's bill is unconstitutional. They recognize in it therefore the effect of the success of the Republican party, and charge at once on the dominant power a design to carry out abolition schemes. Those, if there are any, at the South, who believe that Congress has power to legislate on the subject, regard the use of the power by a sectional party as tyrannical and unjust. When millions of men are in rebellion, misled by leaders who have already told them that the North will free their slaves and destroy their families, is it wisdom, nay, is it not madness, to accompany victory with such evidence of the temper of the victors as this bill affords, and whose effect on the minds of the mistaken South can only be to confirm them in their errors? Can any man convince them by such arguments that they were errors?

Men are mad who suppose that the nation will have peace while these things continue. Northern mails went for the first time to New Orleans a few days ago, carrying the Northern papers, and the first papers which for a year have been allowed to reach that city from the North, conveyed the news of the triumph of the Republican party in the passage of that bill. Does anyone imagine that that news will help to develop Union sentiment in New Orleans? That it will make Gen. Butler's work any more easy? That it will convince New Orleans that the North is not abolitionized?

The conservative men of the North and of the Border States could save the Union and restore peace to its broad extent in thirty days, if the destructive element of radical abolitionism was crushed out of Congress. But what can conservative men do? We appeal to the President of the United States at this moment to be the savior of his country. Let him now place the weapons in the hands of conservative men, and they will finish the work of the war. He has been steadfastly supported by them. He declared that he would sustain the Constitution and the Union, and trusting in his good faith he was at once surrounded by the strong men of the nation, and we say without hesitation to-day that he has derived his only steadfast, unwavering, unvarying support for six months past from conservative men, while the fierce Abolitionists have cursed him with the most bitter curses. If he looks for a peaceful country during his administration, he must look to conservative counsels alone for that result. Conservative men desire, now that the opportunity is presented, to go to the Southern men in cities and towns which are accessible to our commerce, and there reason with Southern citizens. We demand arguments. Will the President place them in our hands? Had he vetoed the Emancipation bill in the District of Columbia, it would have been worth a hundred thousand Union soldiers in New Orleans to-day! If, as we believe will soon be the case, Gen. McClellan enters Richmond in triumph, the moment for Mr. Lincoln to answer this demand will have come. In times like the present a nation's fate depends often on the voice of one man, and the fate of our nation, which, after the passage of the Lovejoy bill, we dare not consider safe in the hands of Congress, rests on the counsels of the President. God has not answered his prayer by giving wisdom to Congress, but we trust yet that it will be answered in the person of the President himself. On Gen. McClellan and Gen. Halleck now rest the result of battle; but on Mr. Lincoln, and his course with reference to Northern as well as Southern disunionism, rests the end of the war.

ABO BO LITION.

From Vanity Fair.

ABO BO LITION (may the tribe decrease!)
Awoke one night not very well at ease,
And saw within the shadow of his room,
Making it mean, and like stink weed in bloom,
A devil writing in a book of brass.
Exceeding cant had made Bo Lition an Ass,
And to the shadow he said, a little pale,
"What scribblest thou?" The phantom raised its tail,
And answered with a leer of sour discord,
"The names of those who own Jeff Davis Lord."
"And is mine one?" said Abo. "Not quite so,"
Replied the devil. Abo spoke more slow,
But cheerfully still, aching to grasp his pen,
"Write me as one who hates the Union, then."

The devil wrote and vamosed. The next night
He came again—this time a little tight—
And showed the names who served Jeff Davis best,
And lo! Bo Lition's name led all the rest!

THE PRESIDENT STANDS BY THE CONSTITUTION.—In the quiet announcement from Washington that the Fugitive Slave law is being enforced in the District of Columbia, there is a world of meaning. It shows that the President has achieved a moral triumph as brilliant as any yet gained on the field of battle. For years this law has been execrated by the Abolitionists everywhere, and every impediment thrown by them in the way of its execution, even to armed resistance of the Federal officers, regardless of the decision of the highest tribunal in the land, that the law is in accordance with the United States Constitution and must be maintained. The President, in consenting to the enforcement of this law at the present time, by regular judicial process, within the very precincts of the National Capital, and at the focus of the radical Abolition element, brings forcibly to mind the declaration made by him pending the election of Chief Magistrate, that if chosen he *would* be President.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Selections.

CONFISCATION AND EMANCIPATION.

Speech of Charles Sumner

In the U. S. Senate, May 19.

IF I can simplify this discussion, I shall feel that I have done something towards establishing the truth. And now, if you will kindly give me your attention, I shall try to open the question in such a way as to exhibit clearly all the points in issue. There is a saying, often repeated by statesmen and often recorded by publicists, which embodies the direct object of the war which we are now unhappily compelled to wage; an object sometimes avowed in European wars, and more than once made a watchword in our own country—"Indemnity for the past and security for the future." Such should be our comprehensive aim—nor more, nor less. Without indemnity for the past, this war will have been waged at our cost. Without security for the future, this war will have been waged in vain. Treasure and blood will have been lavished in vain. But indemnity and security are both means to an end; and that end is the national unity and the Constitution of the United States. It is not enough if we preserve the Constitution at the expense of the national unity. Nor is it enough if we enforce the national unity at the expense of the Constitution. Both must be maintained. Both will be maintained if we do not fail to take counsel of that prudent courage which is never so much needed as at a moment like the present. Two things we seek as means to an end—indemnity for the past and security for the future. Two things we seek as the end itself—national unity under the Constitution of the United States. Surely in these objects all must concur. But how shall they be best accomplished? The Constitution and international law are each involved in this discussion. Even if the question itself were minute, it would be important from such relations. But it concerns vast masses of property, it concerns the liberty of men, while it opens for decision the means to be employed in bringing this great war to a close. In every aspect the question is transcendent; nor is it easy to pass upon it without considering it in the various lights of jurisprudence, of history and of policy. It is sometimes said that it is exclusively a constitutional question. This is a mistake. In every government, bound by a written Constitution, nothing can be done which is not in conformity with the Constitution. But on the present occasion there need be no difficulties or doubts under the Constitution. Its provisions are plain and explicit, so that they need only to be recited. The Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Cowan) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Collamer) have stated them strongly; but I complain less of this statement than of its application. Of course, any proposition really inconsistent with these provisions must be abandoned. But if, on the other hand, it be consistent, there is the way open to its consideration in the light of history and of policy. If there be any difficulty now, it is not from the question, but simply from the facts; as often in judicial proceeding it is less embarrassing to determine the law than the facts. If things are now seen as they really are, and not as Senators fancy or desire—if the facts are now admitted in their natural character—then must the constitutional power of the government be admitted also; for this power comes into being on the occurrence of certain facts. It is only by denying the facts that the power itself can be drawn in question. But not even the Senator from Pennsylvania, or the Senator from Vermont, will deny the facts. The facts are simple and obvious. They are all expressed or embodied in the double idea of rebellion and of war. Both of these facts are facts, patent to common observation and common sense. It would be an insult to the understanding to say that at the present moment there is no rebellion or that there is no war. Whatever may be the doubts of Senators or their finespun constitutional theories, nobody can question that we are in the midst of a *de facto* rebellion, and in the midst of a *de facto* war. We are in the midst of each and both. It is not enough to say that there is a rebellion; nor is it enough to say that there is a war. The whole truth is not told in either alternative. Our case is double, and you may call it rebellion or war, as you please, or you may call it both. It is rebellion swollen to all the proportions of war, and it is war deriving its life from rebellion. It is not less a rebellion because of its present full blown grandeur; nor is it less a war because of the traitorous source whence it draws its life. The rebellion is manifest—is it not? An extensive territory, once occupied by governments rejoicing in allegiance to the Union, and sharing largely in its counsels, has undertaken to overthrow the Constitution of the United States within its borders. Its Senators and Representatives have withdrawn from Congress. The old State governments, solemnly bound by the oaths of their functionaries to support the national Constitution, have ceased to exist, and in their place have appeared pretended governments, which, adopting the further pretensions of a Confederacy, have proceeded to issue letters of marque and to levy war against the United States. So far has this displacement of the national government prevailed that at this moment, throughout this whole territory, there are no functionaries acting under the United States; but all are pretending to act under the newly established usurpation. Instead of the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, required of all officials by the Constitution, another oath has been substituted to support the Constitution of the Confederacy; and thus the rebellion has assumed a completeness of organization under the most solemn sanctions. In point of fact, throughout this territory the National government has been ousted, while the old State governments have ceased to exist, lifeless now from rebel hands. Call it suicide, if you will, or suspended animation, or abeyance—they have none the less ceased to exist. Such is the plain and palpable fact. If all this be not rebellion, complete in triumphant treason, then is rebellion nothing but a name. But the war is not less manifest. Assuming all the functions of an independent government, the Confederacy has undertaken to declare war against the United States. In support of this declaration it has raised armies, organized a navy, issued letters of marque, borrowed money, imposed taxes, and otherwise done all that it could in waging war. Its armies are among the largest ever marshalled by a single people, and, at different places throughout a wide-spread territory, they have encountered the armies of the United States. Battles have been fought with the varying vicissitudes of war; sieges have taken place; fortresses and cities have been captured. On the sea, ships bearing the commissions of the Confederacy, sometimes as privateers and sometimes as ships of the navy, have seized, sunk or burnt merchant vessels of the United States, and only lately an iron-clad steamer, with the flag of the Confederacy, has destroyed two frigates of the United States. On each side prisoners have been made who have been treated as prisoners of war and as such exchanged. Flags of truce have passed from camp to camp, and almost daily during this winter this white flag has afforded its belligerent protection to communications between Norfolk and Fortress Monroe, while the whole rebel coast has, by proclamation of the President, been declared in a state of blockade, and ships of foreign countries, as well as of our own, have been condemned by our courts in Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston as prizes of war. Thus do all things attest to the existence of war, which is manifested now in the blockade, upheld by judicial tribunals, and now in the bugle, which after night sounds truce, as indubitably as in mighty armies face to face on the battle-field. It is war in all its criminal eminence, challenging all the pains and penalties of war, enlisting all its terrible prerogatives and awakening all its dormant thunder. Mr. Sumner then illustrated the double character of present events, as rebellion and as war, by allusions to the contest between Charles I. of England and the Parliament, called by Clarendon the "Great rebellion," and by Milton a war. He then said—I present the rebellion and the war as obvious facts. Let them be seen in their true character, and it will be easy to apply the law. It is because Senators see the facts only imperfectly, that they hesitate with regard to the powers which we are to employ; or, perhaps, it is because they insist upon seeing the fact of rebellion exclusively and not the fact of war. Let them open their eyes, and they must see both. If I seem to dwell on this point, it is because of its practical importance in the present debate. For myself, I shall assume it as an undeniable postulate. The persons now arrayed for the overthrow of the government of the United States are unquestionably criminals, subject to all the penalties of rebellion, which is, of course, treason under the Constitution of the United States. The same persons now arrayed in war against the government of the United States are unquestionably enemies, exposed to all the incidents of war, with its penalties, seizures, contributions, confiscations, captures and prizes. They are enemies, because their combination has assumed the port and proportions of war. It is idle to say that they are not criminals. It is idle to say that they are not enemies. They are both and they are either; and it is for the government of the United States to proceed against them in either character according to controlling considerations of policy. Here Mr. Sumner cited the judgment of Chief Justice Marshall in Rose *vs.* Himley (4 Cranch, 288), to show that belligerent rights may be superadded to those of sovereignty; also the opinion of Chief Justice Tilghman, of Pennsylvania; and of Judge Sprague, of Boston, whose opinion he cited with much respect, saying that long experience had increased his original aptitude for such questions, and made him an authority. And he then relied upon Grotius, who, in his masterly work creating the law of nations, has developed this very discrimination. He then proceeded to speak of Senators who have seemed to feel the importance of being able to treat the rebels as "alien enemies"—on account of the penalties which would then attach. The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Davis) in his bill, has proposed to declare them so; and the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Doolittle) has made a similar proposition with regard to a particular class. But all this is superfluous. Rebels in arms are "enemies," exposed to all the penalties of war as much as if they were alien enemies. No legislation is required to make them so. They are so in fact. It only remains that they should be treated so; or, according to the Declaration of Independence, "that we hold them as the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends." Mark, now, the stages of the discussion. We have seen first, that in point of fact, we are in the midst of a rebellion and in the midst of a war; and secondly, that in point of law we are at liberty to act under the powers incident to either or to both of these conditions; and that we may treat the people engaged against us as criminals or as enemies; or, if we please, as both. Pardon me if I repeat these propositions, but it is essential that they should not be forgotten. Therefore, sir, in determining our course we may banish all question of power. The power is ample and indubitable, being regulated in the one case by the Constitution, and in the other case by the rights of war. If we treat them as rebels, then we are under the restraints of the Constitution. If we treat them as enemies, then we have all the latitude sanctioned by the rights of war. If we treat them as both then we combine our penalties from the double sources. What is done against them merely as criminals will naturally be in conformity with the Constitution; but what is done against them as enemies will have no limitation except the rights of war. The difference between these two systems of conduct, represented by the two opposite propositions now pending, may also be seen in the motive which is the starting point of each. In treating those arrayed in arms against us as criminals, we assume sovereignty and seek to punish for a violation of existing law. In treating them as enemies, we assume no sovereignty, but simply employ the means known to war in overcoming an enemy, and in obtaining security against him. In the one case our course is founded in municipal law under the Constitution, and in the other case in the rights of war under international law. In the one case our object is simply punishment; in the other case it is assured victory. After establishing, in reason and authority, the existence of the two sources of power, Mr. Sumner proceeded to consider, first, the rights against criminals, founded on sovereignty, with their limitation under our Constitution; and, secondly, the rights against enemies, founded on war, which are absolutely without constitutional limitation. Under the first head, he passed in review the various limitations of the Constitution, saying that he should not be less sensitive than any other Senators with regard to any unconstitutional proposition. Show him that any proposition is without support in the Constitution, or that it offends against any of its safeguards, and it could not receive his vote. 1. Congress has no power over slavery in the States; but this cannot interfere with taking slaves as a penalty for crime. 2. There must be no *ex post facto* law. 3. No bill of attainder. 4. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. 5. In all criminal proceedings the accused shall enjoy speedy and public trial by jury of State and district where the crime was committed. 6. No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted. Thus clearly the United States may exercise all the rights of war, which, according to international law, belong to independent States. In offering this proposition, I waive for the present all question whether these rights are to be exercised by Congress or by the President. It is sufficient that every nation has, in this respect, a perfect equality; nor can any rights of war accorded to other nations be denied to the United States. Harsh and repulsive as these rights unquestionably are, they are derived from the overruling instinctive law of self-defence, which is common to nations as to individuals. Every community having the form and character of sovereignty has a right to national life, and in defence of such life it may put forth all its energies. Any other principle would leave it the wretched prey of wicked men, abroad or at home. In vain you accord to it the rights of sovereignty if you despoil it of other rights without which sovereignty cannot exist. "I think, therefore I am," was the sententious utterance by which the first of modern philosophers demonstrated personal existence. "I am, therefore I have rights," may be the declaration of every sovereignty when its existence is assailed. This clause Mr. Sumner considered critically, showing that the prohibition of forfeiture to "attainder of treason," which is judgment of death, and was, therefore, inapplicable where there was no judgment of death; also, that it was inapplicable to such estate as a party had in himself so as to convey the same absolutely, whether fee simple or personally. Amidst the confusion in which this clause is involved, you cannot expect that it will be a strong restraint upon any exercise of power under the Constitution, which otherwise seems rational and just. Besides, it is entirely inapplicable to rights against enemies. Auxiliary to other proceedings against criminals, but not involving the trial of the criminal himself, are proceedings *in rem*, founded on the idea that the thing is in a certain sense the offender. After this survey of the limitations in the Constitution on our rights against criminals, Mr. Sumner next considered in detail our rights against enemies, according to the rights of war. He claimed for the United States all acknowledged rights of war belonging to independent States. These rights were considered under the heads of (1) rights against the enemy's property within our territorial jurisdiction, and (2) against enemy's property beyond our jurisdiction. The case of Brown, in the Supreme Court of the United States, establishes the power of Congress to confiscate all enemy's property within our jurisdiction. By the law of nations all the public property of an enemy, land or money, is liable to seizure, while the property of private citizens is exempted; but the reason of this exemption clearly is, that in an international war the government alone is responsible, for private persons are not free to choose; whereas, in the present war, every rebel has chosen his part, and has assumed all the responsibilities of making himself an enemy. The rebel cannot claim any exemption. He is as much liable as the government in an international war, in his lands as well as his personal property. All these rights of war may be wielded by Congress, but it must be while war is pending. When war is over then will come the time for penal statutes. After this survey of questions of law, Mr. Sumner next reviewed in detail the history of confiscation in ancient and modern times—especially in France—and also the numerous confiscation bills, upwards of eighty in number, during our Revolution, with the diplomatic controversy to which they gave rise, in the course of which Mr. Jefferson asserted the strongest ground under the rights of war. Mr. Sumner then proceeded to say that in the examples of history, by which the Senate is to be guided on the present occasion, the embarrassment of Hercules is constantly repeated. There are paths to avoid as well as paths to take, and it will be proper for you to determine, under the lights of the past, how your course shall be directed. But there are considerations of policy, and I rejoice to believe of justice also, which prevent an illumination such as cannot be found in any of the instances of history. In determining what powers to exercise, you will be guided to a certain extent by the object which you seek to accomplish. Do you seek really to put down the rebellion and to tread it out forever, or do you seek only the passage of a penal statute? Do you seek a new and decisive weapon in the war which our country is compelled to wage, or do you seek nothing more than to punish a few rebels? Or, if the object you seek is simply punishment, do you wish it to be sure and effective, or only in name? Are you in earnest to strike this rebellion with all the force sanctioned by the rights of war, or do you refuse to use anything beyond the peaceful process of municipal law? I put these questions sincerely and kindly. You will answer them by your votes. If you are not in earnest against this rebellion now arrayed in war; if you are content to seem to act without acting; in short, to seem rather than to be, you will pass a new penal statute and nothing more. It is clear that such a statute would be of perfect inefficiency. It will not produce even a moderate intimidation; not so much as a quaker gun. With the provision in our Constitution applicable to jury trials in criminal cases, it is obvious that, throughout the whole rebel country, there can be no convictions under such statute. Proceedings would fail through the disagreement of the jury, while the efforts of counsel would make every case an occasion of irritation. Nobody would be executed. So strongly am I convinced of this, that I am accustomed to consider the gallows as out of the question. It is not a possibility as a punishment for this rebellion. Nor would any considerable forfeiture or confiscation be sanctioned by a jury. I think that in this judgment I do not err. But if this be so, surely we ought to take all proper steps to avoid such failure of justice. Let Senators see things as they are. Let us not deceive ourselves or deceive others. A new statute against treason will be simply a few more pages on the statute book, and that is all. I cannot doubt that Senators are in earnest—that they mean what they say, and that they intend to do all in their power, by all proper legislation, to carry the war to a final close. But if this be their purpose they will not hesitate to employ all the acknowledged rights of war calculated to promote this end. Two transcendent powers have already been exercised without a murmur—first, to raise armies; secondly, to raise money. These were essential to the end. But there is another power, without which I fear the end will escape us. It is that of confiscation and liberation, and this power is just as constitutional as the other two. The occasion for its exercise is found in the same terrible necessity. An army is not a *posse comitatas*, nor is it, in the face of the enemy, or in any of its activities, amenable to the Constitution. It takes life without a jury trial or any due process of law, and we have already seen it is by virtue of the same rights of war that the property of enemies may be taken, and freedom be given to their slaves. Of course, in the exercise of these rights there can be no check or limitation to the Constitution. Any such check or limitation would be irrational. War cannot be conducted *in vinculis*. In seeking to fasten upon it the restraints of the Constitution, you repeat the ancient tyranny which compelled its victims to fight in chains. Glorious as it is that the citizen is surrounded by the safeguard of the Constitution, yet this rule is superseded by war, which brings into being other rights which know no master. An Italian publicist has said that there is no right which does not in some measure infringe upon some other right. But this is not correct. Rights, when properly understood, harmonize with each other. The rights of war can never infringe upon any rights under the Constitution, nor can any rights under the Constitution infringe upon the rights of war. Assuming, then, what has been so amply demonstrated, that the rights of war are ours without abridgment, and assuming also that you will not allow our present cause, which has enlisted such mighty energies, to be thwarted through any failure on your part, I ask you to exercise these rights in such a way as to assure promptly and surely that permanent peace in which all that we desire is contained. But to this end it will not be enough to triumph over the rebellion; it must be so completely crushed that it cannot break forth, while its authors are not allowed to escape punishment—all of which may be accomplished only by such a bill as I have proposed. The reasons of policy, if not of duty, are controlling. But while all desire to see the rebellion completely crushed, there may be a difference with regard to the rights of war which shall be exercised. Some may be for a few; others may be for all. Some may reject the examples of the past; others may insist upon following them. It is for you to choose; but in making your election, you will not forget the object in view. At another point I have leaned on the authority of Grotius. In turning now to Vattel, a writer of masculine understanding, who has done so much to popularize the law of nations, I am influenced by the consideration that, less austere than others, he seems always inspired by the free air of his native Switzerland and filled with the desire of doing good, so that what he sanctions cannot be regarded as illiberal or harsh. In grasping the details which may enter into the object proposed, this benevolent master teaches that we may seek these things—(Vattel, book 4, cap. 9):

1. Possession of what belongs to us.
2. Expenses and charges of the war, with reparation of damages.
3. Reduction of the enemy, so that he shall be incapable of unjust violence.
4. Punishment of the enemy.

And in order to arrive at these results, the rights of war are ours, to be employed in our discretion; not forgetting that the property of every rebel, whether real or personal, is as justly liable to forfeiture as the property of a hostile prince is admitted to be by the rights of war. Such, in detail, is the object which is all contained in the idea of peace. In this work, it is needless to say, there can be no place for any sentiment of hate or any suggestion of vengeance. There can be no exaction and no punishment beyond the necessity of the case—nothing harsh, nothing excessive. Lenity and pardon become the conqueror more even than his victory. "Do in time of peace the most good, and in time of war the least evil possible; such is the law of nations." These are the words of an eminent French magistrate at the installation of a prize court. In this spirit it will be our duty to assuage the calamities of the war, and especially to spare the inoffensive population. But the tallest poppies must drop. For the conspirators who organized this great crime, and let slip the dogs of war, there can be no penalty too great. They should be not only punished to the extent of our power, but they should be stripped of all means of influence, so that, should their lives be spared, they may be doomed to wear them out in poverty, if not in exile. To this end their property must be taken. But their poor deluded followers may be safely pardoned. Left to all the privileges of citizenship in a regenerated land, they will unite in judgment of those leaders who have been to them such cruel taskmasters. But the property of leaders consists largely of land, owned in extensive plantations. It is just that these should be broken up, so that they can never again be the nurseries of conspiracy or disaffection. Partitioned into small estates, they will afford homes to many who are now homeless, while their peculiar and overbearing social influence will be destroyed. Poor neighbors, who have been so long dupes and victims, may become independent possessors of the soil. Brave soldiers who have left their Northern skies to fight the battles of their country, resting at last from their victories, and changing their swords into ploughshares, may fill the land with Northern industry and Northern principles. I say little of personal property, because, although it may be justly liable to confiscation, yet it is easy to see that it is of much less importance than the land, except so far as slaves may be falsely classed under this head. Vattel says that in our day a soldier would not dare to boast of having killed the enemy's king, and there seems to be a similar timidity on our part towards slavery, which is our enemy's king. If this king were removed tranquillity would reign. Charles XII. of Sweden did not hesitate to say that the cannoniers were perfectly right in directing their shots at him, for the war would be at an instant end if they could kill him, whereas they would reap little from killing his principal officers. There is no shot in this war so effective as the one against slavery, which is king above all officers; nor is there any better augury of complete success than the willingness, at last, to fire on this wicked king. But we must begin by abandoning the illusions through which slavery has become so strong. The slaves of rebels cannot be regarded as property, real or personal. Though claimed as property by their masters, and though too often recognized as such by individuals in the government, it is the glory of our Constitution that it treats slaves always as "persons." At home, beneath the lash and local laws, they may be chattels, but they are known to our Constitution only as men. In this simple and indisputable fact there is a distinction clear as justice itself between the pretended property in slaves and all other property, real or personal. Being men, they are bound to allegiance and entitled to reciprocal protection. It only remains that a proper appeal should be made to their natural and instinctive loyalty; nor can any pretended property of their masters supersede this claim—I would not say of eminent domain, but of eminent power, inherent in the National government, which at all times has a right to the service of all. In declaring the slaves free you will at once do more than in any other way, whether to conquer, to pacify, to punish or to bless. You will take from the rebellion its mainspring of activity and strength; you will stop its chief source of provisions and supplies; you will remove a motive and temptation to prolonged resistance, and you will destroy forever that disturbing influence which, so long as it is allowed to exist, will keep this land a volcano, ever ready to break forth anew. But, while accomplishing this work, you will at the same time by the magical touch of freedom, do an act of wise economy, giving new value to all the lands of slavery, and opening untold springs of wealth, and you will also do an act of justice destined to raise our National name more than any triumph of war or any skill in peace. God in his beneficence offers to nations, as to individuals, *opportunity* OPPORTUNITY, OPPORTUNITY, which of all things is most to be desired. Never before in history has he offered such as is now ours. Do not fail to seize it. The blow with which we smite an accursed rebellion will at the same time enrich and bless; nor is there any prosperity or happiness which it will not scatter abundantly throughout the land, and such an act will be an epoch, marking the change from barbarism to civilization. By the old rights of war, still prevalent in Africa, freemen were made slaves, but by the rights of war which I ask you to declare, slaves will be made freemen. Mr. President—If you ask indemnity for the past, and security for the future; if you seek the national unity under the Constitution of the United States, here is the way in which all these can be surely obtained. Strike down the leaders of the rebellion, and lift up the slaves. Then will there be an indemnity for the past such as no nation ever before was able to win, and there will be a security for the future such as no nation ever before enjoyed, while the Republic, glorified and strengthened, will be assured forever, one and indivisible.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S VETO OF GEN. HUNTER'S EMANCIPATION ORDER.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

A FEW days since, the popular enthusiasm was kindled into a wide-spread flame, in consequence of the order of Gen. Hunter, declaring the entire abolition of slavery within the three States of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida, comprising his Military Department of the South. This was equivalent to the liberation of one-fourth of the entire slave population of the whole country. Of course, with the joy everywhere felt and expressed by the friends of impartial liberty, and the uncompromising enemies of secession, there was some anxiety felt as to what would be the course of the President in relation to this Order. It was, however, generally supposed that Gen. Hunter had not acted without having had at least a *carte blanche* in his hand, to be used against slavery according to the exigencies of his position. They were not allowed by the President to remain long in doubt upon this point. With undignified haste—without waiting to hear officially from Gen. Hunter, as he was in courtesy and fairness bound to do, as to whether such an Order had been really issued, and, if so, on what grounds—the President, on Monday last, issued a proclamation, *putting his veto on the Order aforesaid*, even while admitting that he had not at the time "any authentic information that the document was genuine"! Was anything ever more weak or more pitiable than this? What right had he thus to prejudge Gen. Hunter, or with what propriety could he commit the government in so grave a matter with such precipitancy? His plea is, the Emancipation Order was "producing some excitement and misunderstanding." Yes, glorious excitement in the bosoms of angels, and of "the spirits of just men made perfect," in a higher sphere; thrilling excitement in every upright, manly, liberty-loving breast in the land; furious excitement in the regions of the damned, and among the traitors of the South and their Northern abettors! As to any "misunderstanding" about it, nothing could be plainer than the language or meaning of the Order: "*Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible!*" Neither the rebels nor their slaves will have any difficulty in understanding a declaration so true and sensible as this. Gen. Hunter, being competent to declare martial law, is also competent to decide what that law requires in his Department; and finding the States comprised therein in hot rebellion against the government, with no evidence of a particle of loyalty existing in them, and an immense slave population made use of in every possible manner to defeat the Federal arms, and give victory to the rebels, he very sensibly, and with the highest justification conceivable, proclaims that "the persons in these three States, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." Noble words, uttered never more timely!

All honor to Gen. Hunter, and cheer upon cheer until the welkin rings; and shame and confusion of face to the President for his halting, shuffling, backward policy! By his veto, he has disgusted and alienated the truest friends of freedom universally, and gratified the malignity of the enemies of his Administration who are at heart traitors, and represented by such papers as Bennett's *Herald*, the New York *Express*, *The Journal of Commerce*, the Boston *Courier* and *Post*, and other journals of the same satanic stripe. By his veto, he has helped to prolong the present bloody strife, to sacrifice needlessly thousands of Northern lives, to augment indefinitely the present frightful national debt, to dispirit the army, and to encourage the rebels in arms, whose hopes of success are found only in being allowed to retain their slaves as their most efficient laborers in the work of rebellion. By his veto, he has made the danger still more imminent that the European powers will hasten to interfere for the independence of the Southern Confederacy, seeing no end to a struggle carried on in so besotted and impotent a manner by our government.

President Lincoln should not only have endorsed, as justified by the exigencies of the case, the Order of Gen. Hunter, but, long ere this, he should have declared every slave in rebeldom free. In such an act, the country will enthusiastically applaud him. The people will stand by him, while the growling and seditious spirits who threaten all manner of evil will be crushed at a blow. Four million of people are FORCED TO AID REBELLION AT THE SOUTH, and to struggle to prevent the success of the Federal government, solely because they are SLAVES! Every one of them is loyal in heart, or would be if he could be assured that he may recover, under "the stars and stripes," his long withheld liberty. Who but Northern traitors (for Southern ones do not), impudently wearing the mask of loyalty, doubt or deny the right of the President, at a crisis like this, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, to declare universal emancipation? The greater includes the less. The invasion of a slave country carries with it the right to liberate every slave upon its soil. If Gen. Hunter may rightfully take a hostile army with him, and declare himself military dictator over Georgia, Florida and South Carolina, thus denying the actual existence of those States as such, why may he not proceed to turn nine hundred thousand slaves coerced to act as rebels, into nine hundred thousand freemen, ready to lay down their lives in support of the government? The pages of history may be searched in vain for a parallel to the infatuation which prevails at Washington on this subject.

The President is still disposed to treat the dragon of slavery as though it was only a wayward colt. In vain has he seen every overture of kindness and good will rejected with scorn and contempt, and with added insults and fresh atrocities, by the revolted States; he refers with marked complacency to his absurd message to Congress in March last, proposing to propitiate the rebels by buying their slave property, and he renews the overture, with honeyed accents—soothingly assuring them that "the change it contemplates would come gently as the dews of heaven, not rending nor wrecking anything"—and he enticingly asks, "Will you not embrace it?" President Lincoln! "canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook? Will he make many supplications unto thee?"

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

From The Washington Republican, 19th

WE publish the President's proclamation of yesterday. As will be seen, the President expresses a very decided opinion that Gen. Hunter had no right to issue his order of May 9. This, however, although from a very high source, is only an opinion, and cannot affect rights (if any) which have accrued to anybody under Gen. Hunter's order.

This proclamation of the President amounts to a direction, which he clearly has the power to give, to all Generals, not to issue such orders in future. The proclamation, in this aspect of it, is an effective and official exercise of his power as Commander-in-Chief.

We hold it to be a matter of the clearest and plainest law, that Generals in the field, subject always to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, *can do any act which he could do, if he took the field in person, and that they have the same right to liberate slaves, under the war power, which he possesses.*

The difference is, that whereas he can control them, there is no higher authority which can control him. But in the absence of such controlling orders from him, *Generals can do anything which he could do; and where the thing done is of a nature to vest rights in third parties, he cannot undo it.*

Whether the Commander-in-Chief, or Generals representing his military authority, can liberate slaves, is another question. We think, however, as we said yesterday, that this power, does exist, to be used really and fairly for a military object, and not as a mere cover for a political object.

The President closes his proclamation with an earnest and patriotic appeal to the Border States, in which we do not know which most to admire, the language or the sentiment. May they not fall upon deaf ears.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVING ITSELF.

Correspondence of The Herald.

I HAVE just returned from Manassas. What I saw and heard there would furnish matter for several columns of *The Herald*, if Manassas were not now utterly eclipsed by the stirring news from Yorktown. I went up on the top of a car-load of hay, and came

when the trumpet which will startle the world, will sound. We have profound and well grounded confidence in his patriotism; and we know that he will not suffer the country to be broken up and the cause of civilization to be set back by neglect to do his duty. And with an earnest conviction that permanent peace and a hearty reunion are to be found only in the destruction of that infernal system that caused the war, we can see that emancipation cannot be long deferred. Hope may sicken and expectation die, but the regeneration of the Republic is sure.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE CRISIS AND THE PRESIDENT.

WE were none too soon in recording our joy at the proclamation of Gen. Hunter, last week, as all our readers know. The President, without waiting to know whether that immortal paper were authentic or not, *unproclaimed* Emancipation by telegraph with the speed of lightning. Still, we take back no word of praise we bestowed upon that sagacious as well as gallant officer for his wise action, and we abate no jot of our belief that it was as judicious and salutary as it was just and humane. Without going into the question whether the President can fasten on again the fetters which a General in the field has struck, from military necessity and on his own responsibility, from the slaves within his jurisdiction—though we have no doubt as to the decision which an impartial Court would arrive at in the premises—we think that Gen. Hunter has dealt the deadliest blow yet launched at the heart of slavery. The spell he has uttered may be cheated of its power for a while, but it has set influences in play which will never cease to act until it has done its perfect work. We are sorry for what the President has done, and for the way in which he did it. He ran before he was sent, and showed an alacrity which savored little of dignity in calming the slaveholding terrors which Gen. Hunter's action had excited. Some show of deliberation would have been better for his own sake, and relieved him in some degree from the imputation of undue inclining to the influences of the Border States. This, however, is rather personal to himself than nationally important, if the result were to be the same after delay as before. And we cannot take all the comfort which some of our contemporaries have done from the intimations of a possible interposition by himself to offset the same result. For he does not affirm that he believes that he possesses the power to do so, and his action in this matter and in his letting loose the bloodhounds on the wretched fugitives from slavery who had taken sanctuary under the eaves of his palace and the shadow of the Capitol, must excite a doubt as to whether he possesses the strength of mind and firmness of resolution necessary to so great a work. He has greatly damaged his reputation with posterity and with foreign nations by what he has done. We regret it, and grieve that the faith many of us were willing to entertain, that he would have strength equal to his day, seems likely to fail of becoming sight.

We do not think, however, that the prospects of the abolition of slavery are at all damaged by this rescinding of Gen. Hunter's proclamation. On the contrary, we think that it may be hastened by it. But we think that the hope of abolition under the Union is much darkened thereby. It will give the secession emissaries in Europe fresh heart and hope, and afford their sympathizers there a new pretext for intervention. What has held back the British government from its chronic itch for intermeddling in other men's matters, has been the fact that a very large and most respectable class of the people, though not the dominant class, are really anti-slavery, and would make dangerous disturbance in the nicely balanced state of parties in England, were the cause of the slaveholders openly and impudently espoused. This excellent portion of the English nation believe with us, that, though the war is not openly and nominally waged against slavery, it is so virtually and necessarily. The President's counter-proclamation, annulling the act of Gen. Hunter, coupled with the horrible slave-hunts going on under his very eyes and by his especial permission, are very capable of being used to change the state of opinion and feeling in England just suggested. It is true that the relations of the war to slavery are not in anywise altered by what the President has done; but we can hardly wonder that impoverished employers and famishing operatives should not have very keen eyes to see that it is so. When they are told, as they will be, that it is now plain that one side is just as pro-slavery as the other, and that the issue of the war will make no change in the condition of the slave, they might not unnaturally be inclined to ask why should we lose our profits or go without our daily bread, when the recognition of the Confederate States and the opening of Savannah and Mobile would restore prosperity and plenty to them all? And what mortal can tell the inscrutable designs of the wily adventurer who sits on the throne of France? Though we think he can hardly believe that we can be forced to buy champagne and silk gowns at the point of the bayonet, he may have political designs for the diversion of the eyes of the French nation far from France, and the gratification of its passion for military glory, for which the vineyards of Bordeaux and the looms of Lyons may be but the pretext. No recognition of the Confederacy, however, could be had from the two leading nations of Europe, excepting on a guarantee of the abolition of slavery. This we have no doubt the rebel Cabinet would consent to do as the price of their nationality. And so we may see the proclamation of President Lincoln forestalled by that of President Davis, and the glory passed away from him forever.

It is a noticeable coincidence that this rescinding of Gen. Hunter's proclamation by the President, and his opening the streets of Washington to the swarms of slave-hunters should have been contemporaneous, almost, with the alarm for the safety of the Capital, and the call upon the States of Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts for additional troops to secure it. The only rational hope, if not the only military possibility of a successful onslaught upon Washington, lies in the readiness of Maryland to rise and make common cause with the invaders. This, we apprehend, there is little doubt she is all ready to do at the first tap of a rebel drum. So that all the gratitude Mr. Lincoln is likely to perceive for his reprieve to slavery in the Southern District, and the help given to rebel masters to seize and carry back their slaves, is, an eager readiness to cut his throat, burn his palace and blow up the Capitol! Whether there were any sufficient ground for these fears or not, they have had the effect of testing afresh the spirit of loyalty of the Northern States. Within twenty-four hours of the intimation of the possibility of danger, the choicest regiments, composed of the flower of the youth of this city and of Philadelphia, were on their way to Washington. Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, has splendidly fulfilled the promise of his noble letter to the Secretary of War. While he could only promise to do his best to provide troops with the horrors of a barbarous warfare hanging over them, and forbidden to strike the enemy at his weakest point, he finds no difficulty in sending forward the best blood of his State to rescue the Capital and the President from danger. The bells of country towns were rung at midnight on Sunday, and by sunrise the quota of troops was under march for Boston. It was like the rallying at the opening of the war, and the rushing to arms when the news of Lexington spread through the land. Gov. Andrew has done much service to his country during the last eventful twelve months; but none more effectual or more honorable to himself and to his Commonwealth than the admirable State Paper to which we have referred.

Events are hurrying forwards with the rush and the might of destiny. A very few weeks, a very few days, perhaps, may decide whether the nation is to live or to die—whether it is to live entire or be hewn into two unsightly fragments. If the attempt to save the Union and to save slavery at the same time be persevered in, we believe that the Union will go down under the pressure of slavery. We *know* that the success of such an attempt would be but a temporary armistice to the rebellion, to be broken when it had gathered strength again. We are sure that the head and heart of the nation is right and sound on this subject. The President may judge from the character of the presses which applaud his course as to slavery in the Southern Department—the New York *Heralds*, *Journals of Commerce*, *Expresses*, and Boston *Couriers* and *Posts*, and the like—what its real nature is. The instinct of these hounds is infallible. They never miss the scent when there is a slave to be hunted or a master to be fawned upon. Their howlings make night and day hideous, but their power to bite is almost gone. Such creatures are no true exponents of Northern feeling. They utter the sense of a small and most malignant sect who love slavery for its own sake as well as for the gains it has brought them. But the great mass of the Northern people, of the virtue, the intelligence, the wealth, the industry of the nation, long for the word of deliverance which they feel will pronounce their own emancipation as well as that of the slaves. We trust that Mr. Lincoln will not let slip the golden moment, but be found equal to the glorious necessity. It lies in his power to make his Administration and his name the most illustrious and beneficent, or the most calamitous and the most infamous of all recorded in our annals. And the time of decision may be brief.

PORT ROYAL FREED BLACKS.

THE following letter, highly interesting in itself, will be read with additional satisfaction when we state that the writer, an accomplished Philadelphia lady, is a tried and true Abolitionist of the radical class; that she is now laboring among the freed blacks in South Carolina, wholly at her own charges; and that this letter, being addressed to the gentleman who acts as our Philadelphia Correspondent, may be relied upon implicitly for its genuineness:

ST. HELENA ISLAND, May, 1862.

I have formally acknowledged the receipt of the goods from Philadelphia, but I write more fully to you to express the great pleasure they have given to us, as their distributors, and the comfort and encouragement they must cause among the negroes. Mr. Pierce finds it very convenient to have the goods from Philadelphia marked with my name, but I must say it astonished me a little to find myself a consignee to such an extent. Our City and its neighboring towns have been most liberal, and though a month ago these supplies would have been in season to prevent some doubts and fears on the part of the blacks, which have depressed us as well as themselves, yet they are not too late by any means. The need seems great as ever, and the arrival of this food—especially just now of this clothing, for the food has not yet reached the place of distribution—has made very light hearts on this plantation among the negroes. And yet not an article has been given away, except a few second-hand garments and one baby's apron. All afternoon—having unpacked in the morning—I have been standing at the door of the old gin house, which is our store, selling to a crowd of eager negroes, who were willing to pay any price asked, if they could but get clothed, as far as their money held out. Though I have never known one to steal the slighest thing, and we have everything of ours unlocked and lying about, we make it a rule never to let any of them enter the store. If we did, we should have no room to turn round.

I am not sure that you understand our mode of distributing these clothes. All from New York go to Mr. French, from Boston to Mr. Pierce, from Philadelphia to me. I am living, you know, at Mr. Pierce's, and he, of course, directs the management of all the goods here. The boxes are received at the gin house, and thus Miss Walker unpacks those from Boston, I from Philadelphia. The clothes are then repacked in assorted lots to suit the wants of the different plantations, to which they are sent as soon as ready, or as soon as means of transportation can be secured—no easy thing here. I have been very happy and proud to-day in being the instrument of such noble and tender charity. It really seemed to me that a more than human care had met the wants of this people in these supplies; the little garments were so neatly and carefully made and so complete in every little item; so thoughtfully assorted, and ungrudgingly supplied. There was nothing unnecessary. If you should see Miss M. C. K., who wrote to Miss D. about the box of children's clothing, give her my especial thanks for sending the prices to be asked. This has been a difficult question here. I have written to Miss D. to acknowledge the receipt of the box, not knowing how to direct to Miss K.

I am sorry Miss D. was not here herself to attend to this clothing, it would have given her such pleasure. I spoke of selling the clothes. All I have yet sold nearly has been on account, as the people have very little money, and will need it to buy the pork and molasses when they arrive, or else these will have to be on account, and in such very small sums as to make it very troublesome. I wish we had ten people here from the commissions where we have one now; and especially ten women to every one here. Everybody is worked too hard. But yet it is important to have only people of the right stamp, and till they can be found and sent we shall cheerfully do what we can. My only time for writing is late at night; it is long past midnight now, and you as well as my family friends must have very hasty letters, if any. It would give me great pleasure to tell you much of this people; there is so much of the greatest interest to tell, that one is embarrassed to know where to begin, but there is no time to write.

The cotton agents here have done great mischief. Mr. Pierce was brutally assaulted at Hilton Head yesterday, for exposing some of their dealings. You will probably see accounts by the papers. I am glad to find or believe I find Mr. Pierce so truly and consistently an anti-slavery man.

This place (and its trials) will shake the faith of some who have come down here, I fear, in the immediate possibility of emancipation. But I think Mr. Furness's wisdom the best. Instead of saying educate and free them, he says, make it possible to educate, by freeing them; the idea of liberty for themselves and others being necessary to any substantial education.

I have no doubt that these negroes will prove speedily that even the most degraded slaves are better and more industrious freed. They are proving it every day since their first payment of wages, a week or so ago, by their eagerness to work. They had worked well even before their payment. It looks very promising to see, at sunrise, from my window, the wide cotton field in front of the house, covered with cheerful men and women, hoeing away briskly without any driver. I observe that the former "drivers" now call themselves "leaders," and this, I think, very significant.

Gen. Hunter sent a negro here to recruit for the forts. He was only on the island a few days and did not get many recruits. The reason is, I think, because the idea seemed so bewildering of having arms and being trained to fight, that they distrusted. Among the women, there was not a little fear of the Yankees before they arrived, their masters having solemnly assured them that though at first we should coax and cajole them, it would be for the purpose of getting them quietly into our power, and then selling all the able bodied to Cuba, in order the better to oppress the rest. They think white men must mean mischief by such strange novelties as making soldiers of them, and giving them arms. They want a promise they shall never be sent further than Hilton Head. The martial spirit is spreading among the boys. I saw those belonging to this place having a rude kind of a drill the other day, and marching to *hymn* tunes. The air of "John Brown's Body" is one of the most popular and best known among the people here, but they sing other words to it.

It has been said that it was of no use to try to make these negroes live in a more comfortable style; that they like this disorderly state of household matters, and would not appreciate comforts. One little incident in this place contradicts that notion. No sooner had their "ole massa" abandoned them than they eagerly seized all his lumber, and made floors and lofts to their cabins, which had before had only the ground below and shingles above. No white man incited them to this household improvement. I wish they had also seized the window glass, for it is very sad to visit the sick on a cool day and find them in utter darkness, the only alternative being a blast of cold wind directly upon their beds.

The church is very interesting and promising. It overflowed last Sunday into the long moss of the live oaks surrounding it, there being nearly eight hundred negroes present. When they sang inside the building the woods around seemed joining in, so many were under the windows. I had a class of about thirty children, and was the only white woman present at the Sunday school. We have a fine man for minister, I think, a Mr. Hortar, a Baptist. He spoke the first Sunday upon liberty, and tried last Sunday to give them some idea of their dignity as men. Such themes will do them good and keep them quiet too. They still have their reverence for white men. Our cook came running to me yesterday to say that two soldiers had stolen a pocket-handkerchief from her cabin. "Ah, to tink of dat! A white man do dat! Dat too bad for a nigger to do."

They generally like and respect the soldiers. They often say they will do anything for soldiers who are fighting for them.

I have much more to tell, but must have a little sleep to-night.

DR. CHEEVER'S SPEECH.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN sending the enclosed subscription I cannot forbear saying a word of commendation of the noble fidelity of Dr. Cheever.

While all of us as Abolitionists rejoice at the slightest indication of purpose, on the part of government or people, to perform an act of justice already too long delayed, it is cheering to know that in the Church, which is even now taking counsel of constitutional quibbles rather than the higher law of God, there is one man true to his vocation as a Watchman on the walls of Zion, who warns the sheep of his fold against the danger of so confounding the distinctions between virtue and vice as to award undue merit for performing what God, in the decrees of retributive justice, has made impossible for this nation to leave undone.

There are two stand-points from which to view this question, although history will never grant us but one, and that he occupied when he delivered his admirable speech before the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The utter lack of moral perceptions, and want of faith in the great principles of human rights which characterized the public sentiment of this country, at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, was such as to give us reason to rejoice that there should be virtue enough left even to rise in defense of our own rights; and as we do not believe in miraculous conversions, certainly there is cause for rejoicing that we are drifting towards emancipation at any rate, even through the stern necessity of war, and without the virtue of repentance.

This nation has descended as far into the depths of wickedness as was ever permitted to any nation, and now that God in mercy to the negro is setting his claim above our own salvation, we need not fear that a plenty of sackcloth and ashes will not be our portion. Some talk of reinstating slavery, as if that were possible. As well talk of banishing the sun from the heavens, or turning back the waters of Niagara from their source! Its doom is sealed—but instead of asking what is to become of the slaves, let us rather ask what is to become of our own souls.

When, a century hence, the history of this period shall be read, there will be very little for us to boast of. Sacrificing our best national life in the struggle with a foe which, in our blindness, we are striving to save from harm, the future will reveal us as the factors of a revolution ignoring the very principles upon which a revolution is founded.

When was one ever effected within constitutional limits? The history of England, which boasts of a Constitution that has existed time out of mind, is a constant succession of concessions and rights wrung from the lips of reluctant monarchs by some enlarged interpretation of the Constitution, but which had not been previously recognized.

Emancipation in the District of Columbia, important as it is in its significance, effected by powers which have ever been recognized as residing in Congress, and that only after a whole winter's discussion in the face of circumstances that should have made it the work of a moment, will, in the future, command little merit by the side of the responsibility Generals Fremont and Hunter dared to assume without waiting to know precisely what this or that authority would decide as the limit of their powers.

The soul of a revolution is responsibility—courage to strike out new paths untrodden before; and when God and humanity point the way in characters not to be mistaken, who can measure the guilt of those who wilfully shut their eyes to the heavenly light, and persist in guarding the old landmarks until the sword of avenging Justice shall compel them to open a highway for the redeemed of the Lord to walk thereon?

Judging from past antecedents and the general corruption of Church and State, events are transpiring as fast and as favorably as we had reason to expect. Judging by the light of the future, when all our professions, privileges and glorious opportunities shall be weighed with impartial eyes, there is not a nation which will receive such a brand in the forehead for its long-continued and high-handed wickedness, whose highest merit will be that when it was no longer possible, by any power in the Constitution or out of it, to connive at oppression, or execute injustice, by the Lord's own right arm it was compelled to let the oppressed go free. S. E. W.

OUR JOURNEY HOME.

GLASTENBURY, Ct., May 18th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN returning from New York, whither we went to attend the Anniversaries, we took passage in the steamer City of Hartford. Among the company in the upper saloon were two colored girls, the youngest perhaps sixteen. As there was a fine piano on the boat, we urged some of the ladies to play, not thinking of these girls, when one of them struck the keys so skilfully that it almost electrified the whole assemblage. We were much surprised and delighted, and returned her our hearty thanks, in which we were joined by other passengers. But it was painful to witness the prejudice against a black skin. When players of a fairer complexion, not of more refined manners or better apparelled, struck the keys, many gentlemen and ladies joined in singing, not tiring for an hour or two; but no one offered to sing with the colored girl. In the evening we lost sight of these two interesting girls for a while, being engaged in controversy with two men who went further in defense of slavery than any we had ever met in the garb of gentlemen, declaring it civilizing and Christianizing to the negroes to bring them from Africa, and that they did not feel parting from their children, for they were accustomed to it, and that it was impossible to elevate them! In a short time the young girl who had played so readily came up, and, leaning over us, said before all the company, "I would not spend my breath in talking with these men, they are so ignorant; 'tis impossible to give them knowledge"; and the two sisters left and went below. Her manner was so unobtrusive and modest, that these two men and their abettors did not hesitate to confess their mortification, as also did the clerk of the boat who sat by. "We never meant them," said they, "we meant the Congo tribe, the real African; we knew not they were present." "Here is proof of our argument," said we, "before you; none on the boat could or would play for us, and we all saw how handsomely she did it; we think no more can be said of incapacity." The discussion proceeded until 10½ o'clock, when it was necessarily ended by the rules of the boat. One of the men procured a Bible and read the texts permitting the Israelites to buy servants of the nations about them, but not of their own people. (A man near said that fathers here sell their children.) After he had finished reading, one of us repeated slowly, Deut. 23: 15, 16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant," etc.; upon which there was clapping equal to that elicited by Wendell Phillips.

Soon after coming on board, we made acquaintance, *Yankee-like*, with a young man from Swansea, N. H. He was six feet seven inches high, and said he should not like to be an inch shorter. He had never been from home before over two weeks together, but now he was returning from Winchester, whither he went to see the war, and find his brother, who started before him for the same purpose. His brother had brought many a trophy from the battle-grounds, which he exhibited to us; among them, some of Senator Mason's law books, left behind in his office; also a splinter of the gallows from which John Brown was hung. He had slept in the Court-house where the hero was condemned. We missed these two brothers in the first of the discussion, but soon they appeared and listened as if they had never heard a word upon the subject before. One of the men was telling how seldom the slaves were whipped—that when they were, it was an exception to the general rule. He instanced one whipping that came to his knowledge, making it appear how much the slave deserved it. "But he did not whip *her* though," said the youngest brother; "it's a poor rule that won't work both ways. I don't see why the slaves have not as good a right to whip their masters, if they don't behave to suit them, as the masters have to whip the slaves." They both went on in a way so original and with such good common sense, that we were perfectly delighted. "It is not fair," said one of our opponents, "that you two should have help; you had arguments enough before." We replied, "We are perfectly willing you should obtain all the help you can get, seeing you so much need it." Just before this, a sort of swaggering fellow asserted that all Abolitionists and secessionists ought to be strung up together, signifying if he had the power it should be done, and as soon as he finished, he steered instinctively across the room and seated himself between our opponents, one of whom immediately left. This circumstance excited much laughter. We told the young girls next morning they ought to have staid, for the right side completely triumphed. "I would have staid," said the eldest, "but my sister's feelings were so hurt she could not bear it." We persuaded her to play again, the tall Yankee standing by. After she arose he took her place and fingered the keys. "Can you play?" we asked. "Well," answered he, "I lived a while where there was an instrument, and I thought I could make out a tune"; and he succeeded. We observed to the girls, There is a real Yankee, and we are real Yankees. They replied, "We were born in Hartford, and so was our mother, though we now live in Massachusetts; our father is a native of New York State." We have reason to be quite encouraged, there is such a change in public sentiment. We have often been from home, and have introduced this subject, and could scarcely discern an approving eye or a willing listener, but how different this last excursion, for it appeared that at least three quarters of those who were present on the boat were on the right side, and earnest to hear and applaud.

Yours, respectfully, J. and A. SMITH.

UNIONISM IN TENNESSEE.—We judge, from all that we hear of the movements of the Military Governor of Tennessee, that the obstacles to the complete restoration of that State to the Union are more formidable than was generally expected. The attempt to save both slavery and the Union don't seem to work so successfully as the compromisers predicted. A Union meeting was held the other day at Nashville, at which Gov. Johnson and others spoke. One of the principal arguments urged in behalf of the Union was, that it is *the best security for slavery*. Mr. Stokes, one of the speakers, "proceeded," according to the report, "to depict the disadvantages of being out of the Union, stating that the South would *lose the benefit of the guarantees of the Constitution and the advantages of the Fugitive Slave law*." The President of the meeting, W. B. Campbell, put the argument for the Union in this shape:

"He pronounced as false and lying the representations that their property would be confiscated—that their slaves would be sold to pay the expenses of the war. No such things would happen. If they returned to their allegiance they would do much to save their brothers in the secession army from the effects of their conduct in endeavoring to overturn the government of the United States. Hundreds of his own blood relations were engaged in the rebellion, and he would be less than man if he did not wish to rescue them from their position. If the Federal authority is restored throughout the State, Tennessee will have power to influence the authorities at Washington to pursue a kind, conciliatory course toward the deluded men who have been induced to take up arms against the Federal power. The people had the strength to restore harmony, and bring back the State to the protection of the old flag."

Unionism founded upon such considerations as these, viz: the desire to protect slavery and induce the government to "pursue a kind, conciliatory course" toward rebels in arms, is a commodity not worth buying at any price. The Union, if restored upon such grounds, would be a curse.

THE RIGHT WORD SPOKEN.—Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, on receiving from the Adjutant General of the United States a telegram inquiring how soon he could raise and equip three or four more infantry regiments, and have them ready to be forwarded to Washington, armed and equipped, made this answer:

"A call so sudden and unexpected finds me without materials for an intelligent reply. Our young men are all preoccupied with other views. Still, if a real call for three regiments is made, I believe we can raise them in forty days. The arms and equipments would need to be furnished here. Our people have never marched without them. They go into camp while forming into regiments, and are drilled and practiced with arms and muskets as soldiers. To attempt the other course would dampen enthusiasm, and make the men feel they were not soldiers, but a mob. Again, if our people feel that they are going into the South to help fight rebels who will kill and destroy them by all means known to savages as well as civilized men, will deceive them by fraudulent flags of truce and lying pretences, as they did the Massachusetts boys at Williamsburg, will use their negro slaves against them both as laborers and as fighting men, while they themselves must never fire at the enemy's magazine, I think they will feel the draft is heavy on their patriotism. But if the President will sustain Gen. Hunter, and recognize *all* men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the blacks are waiting to manifest, and let them fight with God and human nature on their side, the roads will swarm, if need be, with multitudes whom New England would pour out to obey your call. Always ready to do my utmost, I remain, most faithfully, your obedient servant, JOHN A. ANDREW."

A brave and noble response, for which the people of Massachusetts and the friends of liberty everywhere will be prompt to honor him.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH, lately delivered in the Senate, on his bill "for the Confiscation of Property and the Liberation of Slaves belonging to Rebels," appears in our columns to-day, not in full, but as abbreviated (by himself, we presume) for the daily journals. It goes to the very core of the question, elucidating fundamental principles with a statesman's penetrative and comprehensive force, and making clear as noonday the path which alone can lead the nation out of its troubles up into the mount of Peace and Freedom. The speech, in its completeness, ought to be read at every Northern hearthstone. The friends of emancipation should order it in large quantities from the author, being careful always to send him money enough to pay for printing, folding and mailing. It is especially important that this speech should be widely circulated in Massachusetts, in order to defeat the conspiracy formed there to prevent the reelection of Mr. Sumner to the Senate and to put in his place some man whose anti-slavery is of a more pliable and "conservative" type. The conspirators have laid their plans cunningly, but they ought to be, and we trust they will be, defeated.

THEODORE TILTON addressed the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society (late Theodore Parker's) in Music Hall, Boston, on Sunday last. The New York correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says:

"Among the, so-styled, radical speakers, who grow each day a little further into the hearts of the people, is Theodore Tilton. If he is radical, his radicalism is of that remarkable type that honors God and respects the government. He has entered the lists, it is true, against slavery, and his large, prophetic eyes are full of promise and persistency; but his zeal is nicely tempered, his wit is ready and apt, his deductions are wise, and an easy eloquence commends all to the conviction. The slight figure and boyish face are scarcely those of a reformer, but they will follow those eyes, and those eyes are already fixed upon the end."

JUSTICE FOR VALLANDIGHAM.—Vallandigham, the rebel-sympathiser who represents in Congress the Dayton (O.) District, is a graduate of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa. (an Old School Presbyterian institution), and was a member of the Franklin Literary Institute, a Society embracing a large portion of the graduates and students. The Society, in view of his disgraceful course in Congress, lately expelled him by a unanimous vote.

Our European Correspondence.

FROM OUR DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

DUBLIN, April 26, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN a letter received this morning from a literary friend, who is no rash critic, he says: "I have been exceedingly struck for some time past with the writing in *The Daily News*. In all the points of moral dignity, ability and knowledge, it is, in my judgment, incomparably superior to *The Times*. The article to which you called my attention in the paper which arrived this morning was even beyond the average. *The Times's* efforts to disparage the Federal victories and to conceal its own chagrin at the turn affairs are taking, is amusing. Its persiflage falls flat after the moral energy of the other paper." As it is cause of wonder in the United States that we should quote from the New York *Herald* more frequently than from any other American paper, so we sometimes complain that *The Times* should be regarded as the mouthpiece of the English people. The circulation of *The Times* is prodigious, especially when we remember that the price of the paper, apart from the cost of the stamp which frees it by post, is 4 pence, or 8 cents. I don't know what is that of *The Herald*, but I suppose it is very great. Probably the real success of either paper is chiefly due to the energy and munificence with which it is conducted, the accuracy of its business intelligence and its *usefulness* as a newspaper, quite apart from all considerations of political consistency, morality or humanity. I have met with a statement that *The Times* many years ago handed down £10,000 sterling for a very important piece of business intelligence. Whether this be true or not, it is generally believed that the proprietors are most munificent in promoting the business reputation of the paper. It is probable, too, that with the general public in your country or in ours—for, apart from national prejudices and jealousies, there is a wonderful similarity between them—the kind of writing that *takes* most is that which is smartest, raciest, which smacks most of an assumption of omniscience, and which goes farthest to save the ordinary reader the trouble of thinking, and slyly flatters his vanity by saying things in such a way that he feels pretty sure the same ideas have passed through his own head, and that the editor who states them so neatly must be a wonderful fellow, since he says such wise things so glibly and so well. No doubt the New York *Herald* is generally repulsive to the most intelligent portion of the American people. No foreigner was ever received in England with such a burst of national enthusiasm as Kossuth, and all the sympathies of the great middle class were warmly in favor of the Hungarian in 1848 and 1849, as at the present hour. Yet then *The Times* was thoroughly Austrian, as it is now decidedly Hungarian. Nearly all our aristocracy were then, as some of them still are, Austrian, from an idea, universal a few years ago in England, that Austria, as opposed to France, was our natural ally. I believe this notion is now pretty generally exploded, and Austria is thought to have nearly run the length of her tether, through the excess of her tyranny.

In that number of *The Daily News*, which my correspondent especially commends, the writer remarks that we have incurred the censure of both sections of the United States, and that the reproofs of both sides are in fact complimentary. The North were dissatisfied because we have not proved as high toned and nobly principled as they formerly supposed. The South are indignant because we are not as ready to break the blockade and help them dissolve the Union as they expected we should be. Some of my American friends compliment us on being more reasonable than formerly, while we also (forgive me for saying so) think you are greatly improved in the same respect. The intensity of the Northern disappointment with England at the outbreak of your war is easily explained. No American Abolitionist will claim that any large proportion of Americans were anti-slavery in his own sense of the word. The Democrats were ready to go to any length for the sake of Southern adhesion—and no great number of Republicans disliked slavery with the same fervor with which they clung to the Union and the Constitution. Both parties, when they thought of the English people in reference to slavery, naturally regarded them as Abolitionists such as Garrison and Phillips. They did not consider that the abolition of British West Indian slavery called for no such efforts and sacrifices, nor for the exercise of such lofty qualities as the struggles of the American Abolitionists. To be an anti-slavery man in England was popular; calling for time, labor, and money, but not for the risk of reputation, or for danger to life or limb. Society in England was but slightly stirred by the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce. Probably there is not a lad of fifteen in the United States who has not formed an opinion of, one kind or another on the slavery question. There are millions of grown people in the United Kingdom who never thought about it in their lives except in the most misty way. The fact remains that with the rest of our people, especially the English and Scotch, the sentiment is anti-slavery, and the sympathy is with those who are fighting against slavery. But my American friends will testify that I have repeatedly expressed to them my regret that the number in England of those who take any real intelligent interest in the question is so exceedingly small. And nobody who knows how small it is should be surprised that a question involving our own supposed national honor, or national interest, should counterbalance a sentimental interest and imperfect intelligence respecting a distant and difficult philanthropic enterprise intimately connected with the social affairs of a susceptible, jealous and powerful nation. That an important section of our people—some of the very wealthy and very "conservative"—were not greatly troubled by the apparent failure of your Republican experiment, is pretty clear—just as it is beyond a doubt that many of your people—though not the most wealthy, intelligent and "conservative"—would probably not be sorry if Great Britain were sunk in the sea. National hatreds are foolish as well as wicked, for the causes which produce them can seldom be fairly traced to the people, but to the follies and selfish ambition of their rulers. If the estimate formed of the English people generally had been more intelligent, and formed on a better knowledge of their previous history, I feel confident that so much disappointment would not have been felt in the North; whilst events have shown that no supposed advantages from Southern alliance have been able to induce us to act as a nation in the interest of the slaveholders. From the difficulties that have arisen in the way of so small a measure as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as well as from the abuse of Abolitionists and their prints in your Democratic journals, I fear the downfall of the system, though seen in the early future, has much to contend with from the Northern allies of the slaveholders, as well as from the slaveholders themselves. Whatever be our sins of omission or commission in reference to your affairs, within your own borders will be found the chief impediments to the great and indispensable measure upon which depends your future tranquility, property, and national reputation.

Except in their fealty to the cause, I find there is not more unity of opinion among my correspondents in the United States than is to be met with among well informed Abolitionists here. As to the measure of condemnation due to our government and to your own, as to the value of a special anti-slavery organization, or the value or benefit of British cooperation, there is a wide difference of sentiment; but many on both sides think that THE STANDARD might be more useful to the cause if there were less disposition on the part of its conductors to impute to the English people generally hostile and ungenerous motives, for which they are not fairly responsible. As to which of the nations an international war would be most injurious, I am unable to form an opinion—but it is certain that with no people in the world would such a struggle be regarded by us as so wicked and unnatural as with those of the free States of America. Yours truly,

RICHARD D. WEBB.

A STRANGE DECISION.—Our readers have not forgotten the appointment of Noah Swayne, Jr., of Ohio, to a seat on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court. It would be natural to expect that a Judge appointed by a Republican President and confirmed by a Republican Senate would interpret the Constitution, not in the interest of traitors but of liberty and justice. But just see what he has done. In the Circuit Court, lately held at Cincinnati, the grand jury found an indictment of treason against James W. Chenoweth, for furnishing supplies and munitions of war to the rebels. Ex-Senator Pugh, counsel for the defendant, moved to quash the indictment, on the ground that the first clause of section 3, article 3 of the Constitution, which provides that treason shall consist only in levying war refers to rebellion, while the second clause, "or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort," relates only to a public war with a foreign enemy. Justice Swayne gave his decision sustaining the motion, by quashing the indictment.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, May 26, 1862.

I WENT over to Washington last week, where I spent two or three days. I had not been there for fifteen years before, and should not have gone now, had it not been that a little matter of business seemed to make it necessary. Washington, though a centre of great interest, is, to one whose curiosity has been previously gratified, a very dull place to visit. It has been well described as "a city of magnificent distances." The description would be more accurate were the word *magnificent* left out. There is nothing magnificent about it except the Capitol, and that is too far from being complete to admit of unalloyed admiration. When finished, however, it will undoubtedly be a splendid structure, grand in conception and execution, and well befitting our superb form of government. The gorgeous Capitol at one end of the avenue, and the plain White House at the other end—the one the mansion of the People, and the other the abode of the Servant of the People—are happy illustrations of the genius of our political institutions.

As a mere matter of architecture, the latter building seems the most faultless. Though plain and unpretending, its proportions are exceedingly graceful, and its angles and curves in exact harmony with one's ideal line of beauty. The grounds, which are tastefully laid out and kept in exquisite order, enhance the effect of the whole in the eye of the spectator. A walk around the place cannot fail to be gratifying to one of republican spirit and a reflective turn of mind. The building pleases; its name pleases; and both are instructively significant. The Presidential abode is not called a *palace*—the name given to the houses of Kings and Emperors, nor is it even called a *mansion*—that being, at the time our government was formed, the designation of lordly mansions only. Our republican forefathers were jealous of aristocratic distinctions, even in name. They were philosophers, and knew that in some things names are things. They therefore called the residence of the President simply a house, contenting themselves with distinguishing it from other houses by a reference to the accident of its color. Thus, by a use which commenced of purpose and had a meaning, the home of the President has become universally known as The White House. And now, not only the architectural style of the building, and its approved designation, but the unpretending character of its occupant, are fitting illustrations of the nature of our government and of the spirit of our civil and social institutions.

Washington, in general appearance, has undergone but little change since I saw it before—a matter of course, as the filling up of so comprehensive a plan must take many years—but in internal respects it is not the same city. The first new feature that strikes the visitor as he enters is its military aspect. Armed sentinels guard its approach. Piles of forage and government stores are accumulated around the terminus of the road. Of the crowd that throngs the depot, one-half are soldiers. As you move up the street, vedettes, half-asleep on their half-asleep horses, are seen at every prominent corner. Troopers, with jingling sword and clattering hoof, fly up and down the avenues. The spectacle is not a pleasing one; it has too European a look, reminding one painfully that the government, for the nonce at least, is one of naked force. It is right, however, all things considered, and one is pleased to remember that, though it is at the point of the bayonet and with drawn sabre, order is preserved where a little while ago confusion reigned and insurrection was imminent.

With a change of government at the Capital of the nation has come a change of the population. Not only are the Clerks of the Departments and the places in all the bureaus occupied by new men, but the streets and shops, eating-houses and hotels are thronged by an entirely different set of people. Washington is now a Northern city; it used to be as Southern as Richmond or Norfolk. Wherever one goes one meets Pennsylvanians and Massachusetts men. I don't know why it was—whether it just happened so, or came of some general fact—but wherever I went I was sure to find a predominance of people from those two States. At the hotels, in the Capitol, in the streets, wherever the people were assembled, there—at least to my eye—the most conspicuous figures were either from the Bay or the Quaker State.

It was my fortune to be in the gallery of the Senate when Charles Sumner delivered his speech on Confiscation. As your readers will have seen it for themselves, I need not say it was a masterly production. It has not yet been, nor do I think it can be, successfully answered. Mr. Sumner is a man of acknowledged weight in the Senate, and great potentiality with the government. It is gratifying to know that Massachusetts has been restored to her historical position of honor and influence in the councils of the nation.

In Washington there is but one topic of discussion: Slavery is the universal theme. That the system is to go by the board is conceded on all hands. Those who put themselves forward as its conservators evidently have no hope of perpetuating it. Their effort is to put off the evil day, to make it last their time, and in the meanwhile to make as much as possible for themselves out of their defence of it. Slavery, in itself considered, has no friend of any weight at the seat of government, and those who for other reasons champion it are in a lean and impotent minority. Feeble in number, feeble in intellect, and feeble in resources, they make but little headway against the tide of hostile influences with which they have to contend.

The abolition of slavery is a foregone conclusion; the questions concerning it being how fast it shall be continued (for it has already begun), what measures of acceleration, if any, should be adopted, or what means of restraint, if any, should be employed to hinder its threatening precipitation.

The special pivot of the discussion was the proclamation of Gen. Hunter. It was noticeable that the chief objections made to this document had no reference to its inherent merits—included no defence of the system, or argument for its continuance. "He has transcended his power," said one. "It was an act of military insubordination," said another. "His reasoning is futile, and his conclusion inconsequent," said a third. Others, more friendly, but still objectors, said, "It is a pity he gave any reason at all. No doubt he was right in principle, but he was in too much

dent's proclamation is in the same line with that of Gen. Hunter, and means ultimately the same thing. It is a solemn warning to slaveholders generally, that the measure appealed to in the Hilton Head document is one which he, the President, holds in reserve, to be used by himself; and it is a notification at the same time to the Border State slaveholders that they had better, before it be too late, give heed to his recommendation of "abolishment."

—While at Washington, standing in one of the hotels, my attention was drawn toward the door by a movement of some around me, and their remarks, "There they go," "There are more of them," "More contra bands," etc., etc. I went to the door and saw passing, guarded by a file of soldiers, a squad of some twenty or more blacks, of both sexes and various ages. The men had packs slung over their shoulders, and several of the women had babies in their arms. They were all travel-worn and dusty. I took advantage of a pause in their movement to ask one of the party some questions, such as where had they come from, and how had they got off; but I was stopped by one of the guards, who said their orders were strict to allow no one to ask them any questions. This was well, as among strangers it was impossible to tell friend from foe. They were being conducted by this file of soldiers to the "Contraband Quarters," a building near the Capitol, appropriated by the government to the use of the self-emancipated people who seek its protection. In company with several others I visited the building that evening, chiefly for the purpose of seeing the "contraband" school. There are two teachers employed, men well qualified for their duty; and all the inmates of the establishment old enough, and not engaged at work, are gathered into a large room set apart for the purpose, to receive instruction. When we entered we found the room crammed with scholars of all ages and every variety of complexion, and a teacher with a pointer giving them lessons from a card on the wall. He would explain, and then ask questions which they would answer collectively. They seemed both eager and apt to learn. The quick-witted would take the meaning of what was said promptly, of themselves, while the more obtuse would catch it as it were by contagion. "That will do for the present; we'll rest awhile now," said the teacher. "In the meantime, let us have some singing. What shall we have?" Somebody answered, but her words—it was a woman—were inaudible. "Very well. 'Go down, Moses,' then let it be. Who'll start it?" Some one began, in a low tone. One by one the others joined, and soon the whole school swelled the chorus of

"O go down, Moses,
Away down to Egypt's land,
And tell King Pharaoh
To let my people go.

"Thus saith the Lord, bold Moses said,
O let my people go;
If not, I'll smite your first-born dead,
O let my people go.

"No more shall they in bondage toil,
O let my people go;
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil,
O let my people go," etc., etc.

It was a touching scene. The moistened eyes and swallowing throats of the spectators showed that none were unmoved. An opportunity was now given to the visitors to make remarks to the school, by way of encouragement and exhortation, which you may be sure we were ready to avail ourselves of. Mr. Bird, of Boston, spoke very impressively, giving his audience good advice, and following it with a donation of books which he had brought for the purpose. Mr. Wood, "government agent," appointed to look after "contrabands," warned them to beware of the slave-catchers, who, he said, were prowling about, and had already succeeded in carrying off some of their number. "Keep within bounds," he said; "don't go out into the streets; trust no white man whom you don't know to be a friend." Edward M. Davis, of Philadelphia, addressed the school at some length, and very appropriately. The most noted speaker on the occasion, however, was William A. Jackson, better known as "Jeff. Davis's Coachman." He was present by invitation, and, at the request of the teacher, made some remarks, which were well-timed and forcible. He exhorted his "bretheren" to be thankful for their great privileges. "God had brought them up out of the house of bondage; had made them free, and given them teachers to show them the right way. They should listen to the voice of their teachers, and should pray to God continually to bless them, and give them grace and strength for the work they had undertaken," etc., etc. I had never before seen this noted individual, but the tenor of his brief discourse, and some conversation I had with him the next day, showed that the creditable accounts given of him in the newspapers were fully justified.

The wants of these self-emancipated people—except those of shelter and food—are supplied by a "Freedmen's Association for the District of Columbia." The Association is in need of funds, and are appealing to the humane in other parts of the country for the means of sustaining their deserving and well-managed charity. It is to be hoped their appeal will not be in vain.

There are now nearly a thousand of these self-emancipated people in the District. A portion of them are employed at fair wages in the public service, but the rest are an expense and a care to the government. What shall be done with them? The Haytian agent offers to carry them all away to St. Domingo; the Danish ministers propose to provide homes for them in St. Thomas. But why should they be sent abroad? We have need of their labor here. As a mere matter of dollars and cents, the question of humanity aside, they ought not to be sent out of the country, our industrial interests forbid it. The enlistments for the war, which in this State exceed one hundred thousand, have left us bare of field hands and day laborers. The demand for house and kitchen servants, always great, is of late unusually exigent. Since the arrival of the ninety-nine "contrabands," whose coming I mentioned in one of my letters, we have had applications that would have absorbed more than nine hundred and ninety-nine. And these applications continue, in spite of the efforts of the Breckinridge Democrats to inflame public prejudice on the subject. If it were not for the use these malignant creatures would make of the fact, the best thing that could be done for the interests, agricultural especially, of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, would be to send down to Washington and Alexandria, and bring away to our shores a ship-load of these stalwart laborers. And it is a grave question how far the interests of the many and the advantage of the whole should be sacrificed to the selfish designs and base antipathies of a comparative few.

The abolition of slavery in the District has got the government into a predicament. To extricate itself it must either go forward or backward. It must either break down slavery in the States adjacent, or restore it in the District. The latter is not to be thought of; the former, therefore, is the only alternative. As it is, the "Ten Miles Square" is an *oasis*, to which the slaves all around are flying for a taste of the waters of freedom. They are pursued by their masters, and the appliances of the Fugitive Slave law are put in requisition for their recovery. Conflicts, disgraceful and public, are the consequence; conflicts between the slave and slave-catcher; between the slaveholder and the people; between the civil and the military authorities. The scenes exhibited are more discreditable in the eyes of the country and of foreign ministers than were even the spectacles under the old domestic slave trade. The traders—toward the last at least—kept their traffic out of sight; but these slave renditions take place before Israel and the sun. They bring into bold prominence, and that under the direct national sanction, the most infamous law ever enacted by a people pretending to civilization. Such scenes cannot be tolerated. They would break down any Administration. What is to be done? Clearly nothing but to hurry up Maryland and Virginia to the work of "abolishment." The President "cannot, if he would, be blind to the signs of the times"; therefore he "beseeches" the Border States not to dally over a subject that will brook no delay.

"It is a big job." The President never spoke a truer word than when he thus expressed himself. The work has begun, and it is the duty of every one to help to carry it on to the end. The freed people must be looked after; those still in chains must be emancipated. Our duty, as Abolitionists, lies mainly with the latter; though it can best be performed by not withholding what we, in common with others, owe to the former. Freedmen's Associations are useful, and should be encouraged; but "the Anti-Slavery Movement," technically so-called, is the "wheel within the wheel," which is absolutely indispensable. It, and all that is essential to it, must be sustained at any cost, till the work be done.

One word more, and I shall close. I am visited, every now and then, and have been for years, by a poor widow who comes for words of hope and encouragement. She is a widow, but her husband is not dead. About eight years ago, Capt. Wm. Baylis, master of a vessel sailing between this port and Virginia, touched by the appeals made to his humanity, by some three or four slaves, took them on board his schooner, and was bringing them North; when an adverse wind blew him ashore, and he and his hapless passengers were captured. He was tried at Richmond on eight several indictments; and convicted; and sentenced on each to five years' imprisonment, making the aggregate of his punisment *forty years in the Penitentiary at hard labor!* This widow is Capt. Baylis's wife. What she has suffered is known only to Him who puts the tears of the sorrowing in his bottle. Surely, when our triumphant army takes possession of Richmond, the doors of such men as Wm. Baylis will be thrown open. Such men, I say, for there are others there of the same class. Capt. Lee, for one, who was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment. His widowed wife could not wait for him; she died broken-hearted, and some two years ago we here, in Philadelphia, buried her. If I recollect aright, the circumstance was noted in this correspondence. And then there is Capt. Lambdin, another master of a vessel sailing from this port, who was found guilty of pitying people with skins not colored like his own, and aiding to give them liberty. His sentence was only (!) eight years, all but two of which have expired; so that his wife, a gentle, delicate creature, who was at first broken-hearted and in despair, now wears quite a cheerful aspect. How many more innocents are pining in those dismal dungeons God only knows. Will not our government, at the earliest possible moment, institute an inquiry into these things?

M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, MAY 26, 1862.

THE President's proclamation has had a week to make itself understood among the people and the politicians. It has been canvassed in all its aspects, and the kind of reception it has met with among the people you can judge much better than your correspondent in this out-of-the-way place. Among the politicians (we have precious few *statesmen* here, or anywhere else) the proclamation is received in different ways. Some of the Republicans think it was a back-down on the part of the President to the Slave Power, to the Border State influence, and that it shows that Mr. Lincoln will never rise to the dignity of a great statesman, and save his country. This class (remember it is not me) argues as follows: "Mr. Lincoln has acquiesced in every pro-slavery order, and has revoked every anti-slavery order. He has really been against every anti-slavery act agreed to by Congress. He was persuaded to sign the bill, passed at the extra session, which emancipated all the slaves employed by the enemy in army-work; he was opposed to the Emancipation Act in this District, but finally agreed to it. It is well known that he is opposed to all our Confiscation bills, and wishes we would go home and let the slavery question alone. He does not mean ever to touch slavery, and the dark hints in some of his messages are meant to keep us still—to deceive us!" I have heard a few men talk this way. But the bulk of the Republicans believe that after awhile the President will take high ground against slavery. The hints in the last part of his proclamation *they* say are significant, and they are quite willing to trust to them. Among the slave State members the same variant opinions exist respecting the proclamation. A Kentucky member, in my hearing, remarked that it satisfied him most fully. Other Kentucky members disliked the plea for State emancipation. It savors too much of interference, say they. "We will mind our business—let the President mind his," said one of the slave State members of Congress. And pray why not? If the theory be correct, that the government has no right to forcibly interfere with slavery in the States, what right has a President to be forever uttering his pleas to the people of those States to change their institutions? But if, on the other hand, the President has the right at any moment to destroy slavery, then indeed may he with the utmost propriety step in and say, "I have the right as well as the power to overthrow slavery by one word of mine. Yet I will not utter it, if you will only take the necessary steps for gradual emancipation!"

The President will undoubtedly come at last to take the great position towards which his various public utterances point. The only question in my mind is, whether he will not reach it *too late*. He is sober, cautious, and usually judicious. But boldness is what is wanted in times like these. Suppose the rebels utter the magical word "Emancipation!" first. Suppose England and France do it, and at the same time intervene? It would then be too late for Mr. Lincoln to follow—the rebellion would be a success, and the sympathies of the civilized world would be with it and against us. We should be disgraced and beaten.

You will have seen that we are having a great deal of trouble here in the slave-catching business. No wonder. Undertake to execute the Fugitive Slave law where *men* live, and terrible scenes will ensue. In a world of devils, likely enough, such a law might be executed—but not on this globe. Men are not wicked enough, as a whole, to coolly witness the execution of that infamous enactment. The President undertakes to do it. He believes it to be his duty until the law is repealed. And let me say here that Congress is responsible for the outrages occurring here just now, and Congress alone. It might have repealed or modified the slave-catching enactment long ago, but it has not touched it. Some say the Republicans dare not touch it—fear a bad issue with the Republicans in the fall elections—and therefore will let the existing statute alone. If this be true (and I think it is *not*), then the majority in Congress may as well cease agitating the question of emancipation, for nothing can be worse than the slave-catching now in vogue here, though the District is nominally free. I say, unhesitatingly, that I would rather that the emancipation act for this District had entirely failed than that the present condition of things should continue. As it now is, the slaves within a hundred miles have got the idea that this spot is free—that slavery does not exist here, and so they escape for the District. If the hellish Fugitive law is to be enforced, we are to be crucified every day by scenes which no man with the feelings common to human nature can bear. It is an *every-day* occurrence now to see colored people dragged off like dogs from our principal streets. This is worse than the old days of slavery here, for then the slaves knew their lot here, the outside colored population gained nothing by coming here, and there was a kind of quiet that was a great deal better than what we now see, provided the present outrages continue. Now we are to see whether Republican members of Congress are equal to giving the captured slave a trial by jury; and also providing that his master shall prove himself loyal before being able to make the attempt to prove himself entitled to the alleged slave. The entire matter rests with Republican members of Congress, and some things look very much as if they were afraid to take it up. Possibly they are willing that the country should see some of the actual horrors of slavery—that President and Foreign Ministers should look upon the institution *as it is*, under this "free government." I advise Count Mercier, if he ever doubts whether this war is upheld against slavery, to take a look at our City Jail some morning, and see the slaves held there by Marshal Lamon—to keep his eyes open as he walks our principal avenues. Why, a day or two since, I saw a sight on our principal avenue which could not happen in any city of the civilized world, outside of this country, without creating a revolution, or at least a riot—and it was the brutal arrest of a colored man as a slave, and his wife following him with beseeching, imploring words for half a mile, and every now and then the officer shaking the victim by the neck as if he were a mad dog. After witnessing such a scene as that, I could well imagine Count Mercier sitting down to a confidential note as follows:

"MY DEAR EMPEROR: I have often regretted that the great rebellion originated with slaveholders, and was intended to protect slavery. I have also entertained the opinion, at times, that the Federal government was fighting for freedom, and the final overthrow of slavery. I have hinted as much to your Majesty in this correspondence, heretofore. Let me now correct my errors. It is all a delusion. This government violates the dearest rights of man, daily, to please the slaveholders, most of whom are disloyal to it. The government cannot emancipate itself from its blind subserviency to the slaveholding section of the country. You need not fear any bad results from "intervention." If Mr. Slidell will guarantee the ultimate abolition of slavery in the new Confederacy—go ahead! I can give you facts to show that this government never means to do any such thing. Reunited, this country is again to be under the management of slaveholders. The world will again see a great, impudent, bullying, unbearable Republic. The civilized world cannot submit again to such an infliction. Better intervene at once on the basis of ultimate emancipation, and it will be a blessing to both parties in this quarrel.

"Confidentially, MERCIER."

How natural it would be for *a foreigner* to take such a view. Then how can we blame England and France for desiring the success of the rebels? Many intelligent Englishmen honestly think, if we are reunited, that the Slave Power will again control the government, and that such a result would be a calamity for the entire world. Foreigners cannot see, as we do, that the inevitable tendency of things is to destroy the political power of slavery, and that sooner or later the "domestic institution" must tumble to pieces.

The President expresses no opinion upon the slave-catching business, except that he must execute the laws. It is very queer that a white man may be thrown clean through the Constitution, making a rent in the document big enough to let the President and his Cabinet through, for the sake of catching a rebel, yet when it comes to a slave, there is the utmost horror of harming the Constitution! It may be stretched very hard where white men are concerned, but slave-catching is a solemn, sacred right, and it must be enforced, even if the people of the free States are "irritated" or not.

The alarming news of yesterday and to-day has set the town into another big panic. You see the rebel lion is not yet conquered. When will it be, at this rate? The government is much alarmed, but every provision against the worst is made.

AVON.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

IN the Senate, May 22, Mr. Kennedy (Opp.) of Md. presented a petition from citizens of Maryland, asking for the better enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law in the District of Columbia, that they may secure a large number of slaves which are now in the District. On the same day Mr. Sumner of Mass. offered a resolution that the Committee on the District of Columbia be directed to inquire what legislation is necessary to protect persons of African descent from unconstitutional seizure as fugitive slaves, or seizure by disloyal persons. Mr. Powell took advantage of his power under the rules to object to the consideration of the resolution, and it was laid over till the next day, when it was adopted. Mr. Sumner spoke in indignant terms of the recent conduct of the slave-hunters in Washington, contending that the Constitution imposed no obligation to surrender fugitive slaves coming into the District of Columbia.

On Saturday Mr. Wilson of Mass. introduced a bill to amend the Fugitive Slave law. It requires the claimant to prove that he has not been and is not a rebel, before his claim can be tried. The fugitive may be given up to the claimant, if he admits the facts alleged in the claimant's petition, both in private examination and in Court, after having been informed that he is entitled to a trial by jury. But if he pleads "not guilty," the Commissioner shall certify the petition with all the proceedings to the District Court for that District, where the fugitive shall be entitled to a trial by jury, at which both he and the claimant may be examined with other witnesses. The case may be carried up to the Circuit Court, and thence to the Supreme Court, and while it is pending, at any time before final judgment, the Marshal is required to release the fugitive from custody, upon the tender to him of a bond with sufficient sureties for the value in the State whence he is alleged to have escaped of the services or labor of the fugitive claimed for his appearance from time to time before the Court. It also repeals several sections of the Fugitive Slave law, including that authorizing the summons of a *posse comitatus* to aid in and execute the law.

In the House, on Saturday, Mr. Wickliffe (Un., Ky.) sought but did not obtain leave to offer a preamble and resolution referring to the conflict between the military and civil authorities in the District of Columbia in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, and providing for the appointment of a Committee of Five to investigate the matter.

Senator Wade has reported back without amendment from the Committee on the District of Columbia, Senator Wilmot's bill requiring an oath of loyalty, past, present and future from claimants of fugitive slaves, guarding against kidnappers of blacks from the Territories or the District, and admitting negro testimony in cases arising under both sections.

CONFISCATION AND EMANCIPATION.

The bills reported by the Special Committee of the House have been the leading subject of discussion of late in that body. A great variety of views has been expressed. Among the best and strongest speeches in favor of Confiscation and Emancipation was that of Hon. Charles B. Sedgwick, of the Syracuse (N. Y.) District. The telegraph thus reports him:

"Mr. Sedgwick proposed to offer to the liberation bill an additional section, setting forth that eleven States have combined, calling themselves 'Confederate States,' and have made war on and rebelled against the government of the United States, and proposing, in view of this fact, that it shall be the duty of every officer of a naval or military district, in any portion of these States, to proclaim or otherwise invite all loyal men to come within the lines and be enrolled in the service of the United States. He meant by this any service, civil or military. As a reward for such service he proposed to give them and their descendants freedom forever. He included not only the slaves of rebels, but those of loyal persons, for which he proposed to give compensation, or to their widows and orphans. He claimed the right to pass such a law under the war power in the Constitution, and in the course of his argument said, it would be an act of poetic justice to appoint Robert Small, the colored man who recently delivered a rebel steamer to Dupont's fleet, 'Governor of South Carolina,' and if Abraham Lincoln was half as much of a poet as he is a prophet, he would send him thither in that capacity. There was just as much right to do this as to send Edward Stanley to North Carolina, or Andrew Johnson to Tennesse, as Governor of that State. He maintained that everything that stands in the way of a speedy and honorable peace may be overthrown by the military power. Congress may authorize the placing of arms in the hands of slaves—in the hands of black, yellow, red or white men. Congress, as the representative of the sovereignty of the country, has power over the whole subject. The war power is essentially despotic, and is to be used for the public safety. He quoted from distinguished authorities to show that negroes, during the Revolutionary, and the war with England in 1812, made good soldiers, and that no danger to liberty could be apprehended from such forces. The navy has recently enlisted colored seamen. A gun was effectively served at Hatteras Inlet by a colored man. Jack does not shrink from fighting side by side with sailors who know how to man a gun and direct its fire. Nobody was afraid of employing colored soldiers, excepting him who was apprehensive of exasperating men who wear the skulls and bones of our deceased soldiers at their girdles as ornaments, and gentlemen who might be found to vote for the restoration of all the rebels to army and navy, and to compensate them for the loss sustained by investments in Confederate money, for fear these rebels might become very desperate if this be not done."

Mr. Hutchins of Ohio, the successor of Mr. Giddings, spoke in the same spirit, and so did others also from the free States. But Messrs. Thomas and Train of Massachusetts opposed both bills.

On Monday the debate in the House was closed by Mr. Eliot of Mass., Chairman of the Committee that reported the bills. He remarked that it was a pretext—a legal fiction—to say these bills are designed to punish treason. They are designed for no such purpose, but to weaken the power of the enemy, to bring about a speedy and permanent peace. They proposed to take from the enemy the instruments of war, without which they could not carry on the rebellion six months longer.

The House first voted on Roscoe Conkling's amendment to the third and fifth classes, mentioned in the Select Committee's report on the Confiscation bill, whose property is to be confiscated, namely: "Provided that such persons shall have accepted their appointments since the date of the pretended ordinance of secession, or taken the oath of allegiance to the so-called Confederate States." This amendment referred to any person acting as Governor of State, Member of Convention or Legislature, Judge, or any person hereafter holding any office or agency under the so-called Confederate States. The amendment was adopted, 150 against 50.

A substitute moved by Mr. Maynard of Tenn. was rejected, 140 to 9. Another substitute, offered by Mr. Morrill of Vt., was rejected, 122 to 25.

The bill then passed, 82 against 68, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Ashley, Babbitt, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Blair of Missouri, Blair of Pennsylvania, Blake, Buffinton, Campbell, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, Frederick A. Conkling, Roscoe Conkling, Cutler, Davis, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Fenton, Fessenden, Frank, Gooch, Goodwin, Gurley, Hickman, Hooper, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Kellogg of Michigan, Kellogg of Illinois, Killinger, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, McKnight, McPherson, Mitchell, Moorehead, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Noell, Olin, Patton, Pike, Pomeroy, Potter, Porter, Rice of Maine, Riddle, Rollins of New Hampshire, Sargeant, Sedgwick, Shanks, Sloan, Spaulding, Stevens, Stratton, Trimble, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Van Valkenburgh, Verree, Wall, Wallace, Walton of Vermont, Washburne, Wheeler, Whaley, White of Indiana, Wilson, Windom and Worcest r.—82.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Ancona, Bailey of Pennsylvania, Biddle, Blair of Virginia, Browne of Rhode Island, Calvert, Clements, Cobb, Corning, Cox, Cravens, Crisfield, Crittenden, Dawes, Delano, Delaplaine, Diven, Dunlap, English, Fisher, Granger, Grider, Haight, Hall, Harding, Harrison, Holman, Horton, Johnson, Kerrigan, Knapp, Law, Lazear, Leary, Lehman, Mallory, Maynard, Menzies, Nixon, Noble, Norton, Nugen, Odell, Pike, Pendleton, Perry, Phelps, of Missouri, Rice of Massachusetts, Richardson, Robbins, Rollins of Missouri, Segar, Sheffield, Shiel, Smith, Steele of New York, Steele of New Jersey, Thomas of Massachusetts, Thomas of Maryland, Train, Vallandigham, Voorhees, Wadsworth, Ward, Webster, Wickliffe, Wood, Woodruff.—68.

The House next proceeded to the consideration of the bill reported from the Select Committee to free from servitude the slaves of rebels engaged in aiding the existing rebellion against the government of the United States.

Mr. Sedgwick of New York (Rep.) had submitted an amendment, making it the duty of every commanding military or naval officer, whose military district shall embrace any portion of the so-called Confederate States, to invite all loyal persons to come within his lines and be enrolled in the service of the United States, to be employed as may be necessary; loyal persons, minor, or married, or women whose slaves shall be thus made free, to be reasonably compensated for their claim to the service or labor of such slaves.

Mr. Blair of Missouri (Rep.) proposed an amendment to the above, requiring the freedom of such slaves to be declared by the District Courts, also making it the duty of the Commissioners in such State to take charge of all persons liberated under the provisions of this act, and hold them for military service, or bind or indenture them as apprentices to loyal proprietors of land or to mechanics, for a term of years, and authorizing the President to acquire lands in Mexico, Central America, South America, or in the islands of the Gulf of Mexico for colonizing them.

Mr. Blair's amendment was rejected, 52 against 95.

Mr. Sedgwick's amendment was rejected by

Yeas—Messrs. Aldrich, Babbett, Baker, Beaman, Blair of Pennsylvania, Blake, Buffinton, Clark, Davis, Duell, Edgerton, Eliot, Fessenden, Frank, Hickman, Hutchins, Julian, Lansing, Lovejoy, Morrill of Maine, Pike, Potter, Rice of Maine, Rollins of New Hampshire, Riddle, Sedgwick, Sloan, Trowbridge, Van Valkenburgh, Walton of Vermont, Wilson, Windom.

The negative vote was 116.

Mr. Walton, of Vermont (Rep.), proposed as a substitute for the original bill, providing death for the crime of treason on conviction, and all slaves of the criminal, if any, shall be declared free; or he shall be imprisoned for not less than five years, and fined not less than $10,000, in lieu of death. Persons hereafter inciting or aiding the rebellion be punished by forfeiture of all personal property, and forever disqualified from holding office under the United States, etc.

Mr. Walton's substitute was rejected, 29 against 121.

Mr. Morrill of Vermont offered an amendment in the nature of a substitute for the original bill, providing to forever free from servitude the slaves of rebels engaged in abetting the existing rebellion against the government of the United States. Any person so declared, if thereafter seized or molested in any way by any person, under a claim to such person's service or labor, shall be forthwith discharged on *habeas corpus* by any Court of the United States; and the Court or Judge acting on said writ shall commit for trial for kidnapping the person so holding the said freedman, knowing him to have been declared free by a Court of the United States, the person so convicted shall be sentenced to be confined in the Penitentiary for not less than one nor more than five years; and any one swearing falsely in any proceeding under this act shall be guilty of perjury, and liable on conviction to the penalties thereof.

Mr. Morrill's substitute was rejected, 16 to 126.

The affirmative are Messrs. Roscoe Conkling, Dunn, Frank, Goodwin, Killinger, Loomis, McKnight, Morrill, Nixon, Olin, Patton, Phelps of California, Parker, Stratton, Walton of Vermont, Worcester.

The House vote was on the bill exactly as it was reported from the Select Committee.

The bill was rejected—74 against 78—as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Aldrich, Alley, Arnold, Ashley, Babbitt, Baker, Baxter, Beaman, Blair of Missouri, Blair of Pennsylvania, Blake, Buffinton, Campbell, Chamberlain, Clark, Colfax, F. A. Conkling, Roscoe Conkling, Cutler, Davis, Duell, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Fenton, Fessenden, Frank, Gooch, Good, Weir, Gurley, Hanchett, Hickman, Hooper, Hutchins, Julian, Kelley, Kellogg of Michigan, Lansing, Loomis, Lovejoy, McKnight, McPherson, Moorehead, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Olin, Patton, Phelps of California, Pike, Pomeroy, Potter, Rice of Maine, Riddle, Rollins of New Hampshire, Sergeant, Sedgwick, Shanks, Sloan, Spaulding, Stevens, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Van Valkenburg, Verree, Wall, Wallace, Walton of Vermont, Washburne, Wheeler, White of Indiana, Wilson, Windom and Worcester.—74.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Ancona, Bailey of Pennsylvania, Biddle, Blair of Virginia, Browne of Rhode Island, Brown of Virginia, Calvert, Clements, Cobb, Corning, Cox, Cravens, Crisfield, Crittenden, Dawes, Delano, Diven, Dunlap, Dunn, English, Fisher, Granger, Grider, Haight, Hall, Harding, Harrison, Holman, Horton, Johnson, Kellogg of Illinois, Kerrigan, Killinger, Knapp, Law, Lazear, Leary, Lehman, Mallory, Maynard, Menzies, Mitchell, Nixon, Noble, Noell, Norton, Nugen, Odell, Pendleton, Perry, Phelps of Missouri, Porter, Price, Rice of Massachusetts, Richardson, Robinson, Rollins of Missouri, Segar, Sheffield, Shiel, Smith, Steele of New York, Steele of New Jersey, Stratton, Thomas of Massachusetts, Thomas of Maryland, Train, Trimble, Vallandigham, Voorhies, Wadsworth, Ward, Webster Whaley, Wickliffe, Wood, Woodruff.—78.

On Tuesday, Mr. Porter of Indiana entered a motion to reconsider the question, avowing his purpose, if the motion should prevail, to introduce a substitute, embracing some modifications that would make the measure acceptable to him and perhaps to others who had voted in the negative on the Eliot bill. Mr. Porter, it is understood, proposes, instead of freeing all the slaves of rebels at once, to free at first those of leading persons only, and the rest at the expiration of sixty days, unless the masters return to their allegiance. He also proposes to insert a clause providing for voluntary colonization. In this shape it is believed that the bill of liberty will receive the votes of several Republicans who helped defeat the Eliot bill, and that it will pass. If it does, the probabilities are that both it and the Confiscation bill will receive the votes of a majority of the Senate, and become laws. The House postponed the question of reconsideration till Wednesday next.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION.

In the Senate on Saturday, Mr. Sumner presented a petition for emancipation, bearing the signatures of 8,000 women. Where did it come from?

ROBERT SMALL.

The House on Monday, passed the Senate bill for the relief of Robert Small and others (colored), concerned in delivering a rebel vessel from the port of Charleston to our fleet—121 against 9—the negative being Messrs. Calvert, Dunlap, Harding, Johnson, Kerrigan, Norton, Shiel, Vallandigham and Voorhees. *The Tribune's* correspondent says that immediately after the House voted to suspend the rules for the purpose of taking up this bill, "Mr. John J. Crittenden took his hat and departed, followed by other Kentucky members. At the door, a friend expostulated with him, but the testy old gentleman pushed muttering by. Many of those who opposed confiscation and emancipation on the ground of unconstitutionality a moment before, voted to grant Robert Small his freedom and half the value of the Planter, thereby confirming the right of Robert and all other loyal South Carolinians to confiscate vessels and slaves, a power they deny Congress and the President."

NEW BILL BY MR. SUMNER.

On Monday, Mr. Sumner introduced a bill to relieve the National government from all obligations to support slavery and of all responsibility for it under the Constitution. The bill provides that to the end that just relations be established between the government and the slave States: First, all acts of Congress, or parts of acts, providing for the rendition of persons escaping from service or labor, are hereby repealed; and there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, in any territory, forts, dockyards, arsenals, vessels on the high seas, nor any places where the National government has supreme jurisdiction; and all slaves now held, or attempted to be held, in these places are declared free.

NEW BILL BY SENATOR HOWE.

On Monday, Mr. Howe of Wisconsin introduced a bill to aid in restoring order and preserving the public peace within insurrectionary districts. He spoke strongly against the rose-water policy of dealing with the rebels. He referred to the answer of the Mayor of New Orleans to Capt. Farragut, and of the Mayor of Norfolk to Gen. Wool, and to various letters, showing a lack of Union feeling at the South, and said that treason swaggers everywhere, and that their armies are recruited by decrepit old men, unchristian ministers, and malignant women. Treason struts where it can no longer fight, and loyalty implores where it ought to command. Mr. Howe's bill authorizes the President to cause an oath to be administered to every adult citizen within the insurrectionary districts, to the effect that he abjures all allegiance to any government, foreign or domestic, in hostility to the United States, and will not, by word or deed, aid and abet it, but will bear true allegiance to the United States, and will give it information of any danger which threatens it, and when required assist in repelling any assault upon it. This oath may be administered by any commander of a post or detachment, and any Collector or Marshal. A refusal to take it exposes the person refusing to the penalty of a fine not less than $1,000, or to imprisonment not less than six months. The bill was referred.

CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

On Monday, in the Senate, Mr. Davis (Un., Ky.) referred to Gen. Hunter's proclamation, and to the bad policy of weakening Gen. Banks so as to leave him to be whipped by the rebels, and said he believed Gen. Stanton took charge of the armies.

Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.) said the President was entirely reponsible for these orders—for the arrest of Gen. McDowell's progress toward Richmond, and for the withdrawal of troops from Gen. Banks. It was done by the President, with the approbation of the Secretary of War and several Generals and military men. The President gave a written order that a certain number of men should be left for the defence of Washington, which should be agreed on by the commanders of the different army corps. Twenty thousand of McDowell's men were retained, and the men were withdrawn from Gen. Banks in anticipation of just such a movement as has taken place. These movements were directed by the President, and he is entirely responsible.

Mr. Trumbull (Rep., Ill.) said he should like to ask if it was not at the repeated and urgent request of Gen. McClellan that the troops were sent to him.

Mr. Wilson said he understood that Gen. McClellan was very desirous of having these forces, and the President sent a part of Gen. McDowell's forces, about one-third, under Gen. Franklin, to Gen. McClellan. He (Wilson) thought the events of yesterday completely vindicated the President for reserving McDowell's force.

THE QUESTION TO BE TESTED.—The question whether the constitutional provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves "escaping from one State to another" is applicable to the District of Columbia, is to be passed upon by the full bench of the Circuit Court. The question arises upon an application for a writ of habeas corpus for a fugitive named Wilson Copeland, now in custody of the Marshal, and claimed by Ignatius Watson of Montgomery County, Md. Thursday of the present week was appointed for the hearing. Mr. Dean, attorney for the fugitive, first made application for the writ to Judge Wayne, of the Supreme Court, who declined to grant it, on the ground that no writ of error would lie from his decision to the full bench of the Supreme Court, as it would from the Circuit Court.

"CHRONICLES OF THE WAR."—The pressure upon our columns at the last moment before going to press compels us to set aside the matter prepared for insertion under this head, and to refer our readers to other sources for the war news of the past week. The retreat of Gen. Banks from his advanced position in the valley of the Shenandoah back to Harper's Ferry—a step made necessary by the presence of a rebel force much larger than his own—is the main feature of that news.

LUCRETIA MOTT.—Many of our readers in this city and vicinity will be interested in learning that this venerable minister in the Society of Friends may be expected to attend the regular meeting of that Society, in the house on Rutherford Place (between 15th and 16th streets), to-morrow (Sunday) morning. In the afternoon of the same day she will attend Friends' (Hicksite) meeting in Brooklyn.

THE RECORD MADE UP.

From The Tribune.

THE House of Representatives has decided by *four* majority, that loyal Unionists shall be persistently regarded and treated by the Nation as the slaves of implacable traitors. Here is the bill *verbatim* which the House refused to pass on Monday.

A BILL to free from servitude the slaves of Rebels engaged in or abetting the existing rebellion against the government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any person within any State or Territory of the United States shall, after the passage of this act, willfully engage in armed rebellion against the government of the United States, or shall willfully aid or abet such rebellion, or adhere to those engaged in such rebellion, giving them aid or comfort, every such person shall thereby forfeit all claim to the service or labor of any persons commonly known as slaves; and all such slaves are hereby declared free and forever discharged from such servitude, anything in the laws of the United States or any State to the contrary notwithstanding. And whenever thereafter any person claiming the labor or service of any such slave shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a sufficient defense thereto that the claimant was engaged in the said rebellion, or aided or abetted the same, contrary to the provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That if any person claiming to be entitled to the service or labor of any other person shall seek to enforce such claim, he shall, in the first instance, and before any order shall be made for the surrender of the person whose service or labor is claimed, establish not only his claim to such service or labor, but also that such claimant has not in any way aided, assisted, or countenanced the existing rebellion against the government of the United States.

The 74 who said *yea* to this most righteous and salutary measure were all chosen as Republicans, and are not ashamed of the name. At least, we have not heard that any of them have proposed to exchange it for "conservative."

The 78 who compose the majority voting *No* on this division are made up as follows:

All the so-called Democrats present;
All the Border-State men;
All the "conservatives" and "moderates" elected in good part by Republican votes, including Messrs. B. F. Thomas of Massachusetts, Sheffield and George H. Browne of Rhode Island, Fisher of Delaware, R. A. Harrison of Ohio, and James S. Rollins of Missouri;
With the following elected by Republican votes and as Republicans purely:

Henry L. Dawes of Mass. (Berkshire);
Charles Delano of ditto (Conn. R. Valley);
Alexander H. Rice of ditto (Boston);
Charles R. Train of ditto (Lowell);
Alexander S. Diven of New York (Elmira);
John T. Nixon of New Jersey (South-West);
John L. N. Stratton of ditto (Trenton);
John W. Killinger of Pennsylvania (Lebanon);
James T. Hale of ditto (Williamsport);
Valentine B. Horton of Ohio (Athens);
Carey A. Trimble of ditto (Scioto);
Bradley F. Granger of Michigan (Detroit);
William McKee Dunn of Indiana (Lawrenceburg);
William Mitchell of ditto (Wabash Valley);
Albert G. Porter of ditto (Indianapolis);
William Kellogg of Illinois (Galesburg).

Of course, the gentlemen who so voted believed they were doing their best to conciliate the rebels, arrest the war, and restore the Union. We do not question their integrity, we simply affirm that our convictions differ from theirs, when we say that this vote will, in our judgment, add another year to the war and one thousand millions to our public debt. No rebels of any account will be conciliated or disarmed by it, while four million of loyal Americans will be warned by it not to risk scourging, torture and death too freely in evincing their devotion to the Union cause. Being authoritatively ordered to stand back and wait—being warned that this is a quarrel in which they have no concern—they will, for the most part, quietly obey the monition.

By and by, all who really want the Union restored, and the traitors put straight down, will gladly recognize every man who can sight a rifle and pull a trigger as not too black nor too low to fight and die for the American Republic. Then, every man who really *means* Union will scorn and scout the idea of regarding, holding and surrendering Unionists as the chattels of red-handed traitors. We still trust that this change will be effected soon enough to save the Union from final disruption. Meantime, let us each do his best to sustain and invigorate the war, since every volley fired by traitors under a flag of truce, every wounded Unionist bayoneted by rebels as he lies weltering and helpless, every spring poisoned to murder our soldiers, every vessel daringly wrested from the traitors by a heroic Robert Small, every Union detachment warned against overwhelming surprise or deadly ambush by a contraband, wins over *some* Unionists to realize the military necessity and essential righteousness of Emancipation.

Special Notices.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.—The Tenth YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will convene at Longwood, Chester County,

Miscellaneous Department.

TO GERRIT SMITH.

Written on reading his Speech before the Judiciary Committee of the New York Legislature, Feb. 7, 1861.

BY MRS. MARY H. C. BOOTH.

I DARE not speak of thee, in idle rhyming,
As one might of another;—
Thou, whose great soul with all things good is chiming,
The world's most loving brother!

Thou, in whose heart the most melodious measures
Keep sweetest tune and time;
Yet I have nought, from all my little treasures,
To give thee, but my rhyme.

For, when my heart with beautiful emotion
Is lifted high, and higher,
Thrilled with thy thoughts, from o'er the Alps and ocean,
As with electric fire,—

It is but meet to find some sweet oblation,
With reverence to bring
Unto thy feet, thou living revelation
Of what the mountains sing!

And I have nothing, save a little blossom
Gathered beneath the snow,
Upon St. Gothard's palpitating bosom,
Where Alpine roses blow.

Beyond a thousand dimpling dells and fountains,
I see the glaciers gleam—
O'er the white vesture of the Alpine mountains
Eternal rainbows beam.

I look—the hills are towering in the distance,
Where the immortal Three
Swore a great oath, that, with the Lord's assistance,
Their country should be free.

And the Alps heard it, while at their foundations
The very roses smiled—
They thought how God had given to the nations
The freedom they defiled.

Therefore, a little Alpine flower I find thee—
A messenger of light—
Unfolden on the mountains to remind thee
It is not always night.

The buds of freedom, through thy spirit breaking,
Begin to burst in bloom,
And Liberty shall have its full awaking
O'er Slavery's tearless tomb.

Thy life has been a beautiful evangel
To all the weak and lowly;
For the oppressed thou art a guardian angel—
A psalter high and lowly.

The soul of Switzerland upsprings to meet thee;
She stretches out her hand,
Across the mountains and the seas, to greet thee,
And lure thee to her land.

Zurich, Switzerland, March, 1861.

"HIS SOUL IS MARCHING ON."

English Correspondence of The Independent.

On the evening of March 24, Thomas Hughes, Esq., the "Rugby boy" and "Oxford man"—the author of "Tom Brown's School Days"—a book so accurate and fine in its local coloring, and breathing so freshly of the high and broad Berkshire Downs—so stirring with boy-life, and full of boy-nature at a public school—this deservedly popular author, and highly cultivated English gentleman and scholar, delivered a lecture in the Town Hall of Oxford, on "Old Capt. Brown, the Abolitionist: his life, successes, defeat, and death."

Could the American nation have been, by the Miltonic process, compressed into that hall, or even the lesser army of editors, much would have been learned which is not even dreamed of in American philosophy. They would have learned no new facts concerning "Old John Brown," but they might have learned something from the old facts, as thus and there newly presented.

Introducing his subject, the lecturer remarked that when the Americans were overtaken by conspiracy and revolt, they found themselves wanting many things. Varied skill and patriotic devotion rapidly supplied most of them. They wanted a national song; and they, like us, believing in the money power, a premium was offered for a poetical and musical expression of the feeling of the aroused nation. But national song was not so to be produced. The Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, Yankee Doodle, were, for several reasons, found unfitting. But where deep sentiment existed it would find expression. So when the men of Massachusetts were regimented and setting their faces Southward, an utterance was found, and passed from regiment to regiment—

"Old John Brown lies mouldering in the grave,
His soul is marching on."

[A few hours before, *The Tribune* of February 27, with the musical notation, had been handed to Mr. Hughes, and doubtless suggested this introduction].

Upon this followed the lecture. It was a clear, steady, flowing narrative: in style severely simple, without rhetorical artifices or oratorical action or expression. The family; "the best blood of New England," flowing directly from a pilgrim in the Mayflower; the early life and habits; the married and domestic life, and its marked features; and his farming and trading pursuits, were presented; followed by the grand and tragic story of Kansas (not yet half told, and awaiting time, and a poet), and then the liberating design in Virginia, its failure, and the Death. The lecture occupied an hour and a half. The audience was held in close attention throughout; that attention deepened when the moral grandeur of the sentiments of the old Puritan came out—such as: Better that one whole generation should perish than the Golden Rule be broken by a nation, and the Declaration of Independence be made of no effect; also, where the husband and the father, writing to the wife, and showing the depth of tenderness under that strong nature, was exhibited. The letters of the sons from Virginia to their distant wives also commanded this deepened attention. So on to the final struggle, the failure, the prison dialogues with Mason and others, the address to the court, and the End. In this method, by a finely graduated process, the Puritan New Englander was presented, till the audience felt the presence of hero, patriot, and martyr.

A stranger, especially an American, would have been impressed by one undesigned accompaniment, which only one here and there of a local audience would even notice. At nine o'clock the lecturer was recounting the final scene, in which John Brown, with his dead sons and wounded friends near him, waited the surreader. At this time the great bell of Christ Church, one of the three largest in England, and which in bygone centuries had tolled for the mitred abbots of Oseney Abbey—at this time "the mighty Tom," only a few hundred yards distant, commenced its nightly tolling of one hundred and one heavy and solemn strokes; its tones vibrating through the air, audibly, for many miles. TOLL! *Toll! Toll!* for the brave:

"His soul is marching on."

* * * * * *

Mr. Hughes was evidently moved by the deep attention which had been given, and the feeling of which found warm expression at the close of the lecture from one of the city magistrates, and was applauded to the echo by the meeting. Mr. Hughes, with much feeling and emphasis, declared he should think himself more than repaid, if by his lecture he had deepened the interest felt in the great contest in which Americans were now engaged, and of which John Brown's conflict with border ruffians in Kansas was the commencement.

Mr. Hughes was a member of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1842-5, at the time when "the Church" or Romeward movement was in its full strength, and emerging out of the subterranean into the open and declared state, and becoming "our Church." He is not of the number of fine and active minds now found wrecked on every shore by the patristic tempest. Of his contemporaries there are many who have passed from believing too much into believing nothing—not in man or justice, not in angel nor spirit; and who, if they are not critical, are nothing! Of these are *Saturday Reviewers* and *Times'* contributors. As an Arnoldian, Mr. Hughes combines something of breadth of view with more of reverence for the Puritan school than the "Broad" men generally possess. He links practical morality very closely to his theology. He has had the teaching of a great sorrow in a domestic calamity. Mr. Hughes is about fifty years of age. He is over six feet in height and very well proportioned, and of fair complexion, with light hair. The head and face of the finest type—say Roman, with the asperities and promonotories abated; he is bald, and this discloses the fine lines sweeping from the brow over the superior regions of the skull.

The present writer feels that this brief and faithful account will be received as apocryphal in the United States. It will be held impossible that in the great academical city of England such a lecturer, and lecture, and such a sympathetic audience, could be. To go to this lecture the writer had laid down, with no common sorrow, *The Independent* of March 6, with its *Shall we fight England?* and THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of March 1, with its strange, misapprehending, ungenerous farewell to an English lady of rare abilities, long and intelligently and successfully employed in the service of humanity and of the United States. In extravagant hyperbole the lover pleads:

"Doubt Truth to be a Liar,
But never doubt my love."

But truth the most sincere, and from the most faithful English witness, stands convicted as a lie, in the columns of American newspapers. The plainest statement of a palpable fact, as seen and known and attested in England, finds itself confronted, and, one must say, insulted, not merely by resolute skepticism, but by flat contradictions, made without knowledge, by inveterate prejudice. Mr. Hughes's fine-toned lecture, if reported in the manner which has been customary for the past twelve months, would certainly stand thus:

"Mr. Hughes, an English author of some celebrity, and who belongs to the academical and legal aristocracy, has lectured at Oxford on Old John Brown, showing, of course, that the present 'senseless struggle' arose out of the folly and fanaticism of that insurrectionary Yankee and sanguinary Abolitionist."

This would, assuredly, go the rounds of the American press, and find ready and general acceptance as a fact, and as true to a whole state of facts. And this, indeed, is for a lamentation, and is most ominous.

W.

REBEL CHARACTERISTICS.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., May 8.

THE countenances of the rebel dead, for the most part, wore an expression indicating hatred, ferocity. The faces of our dead presented a remarkable contrast—most of them looked absolutely tranquil. The average of physiognomy between them and the rebels will not admit of comparison.

This was well exemplified by the faces of the prisoners temporarily confined in their own barracks in the rear of the fort. I visited at least half a dozen of the huts, talking with and observing the inmates.

"The hardest-looking crowd, sir, that ever you saw in your life!" Such was the characterization of an officer in charge and a just one. Clad in homespun, rendered almost colorless by long use, with but the rudest attempt at uniforms; gaunt, sunburnt, stolid and savage, they stared at you with a kind of latent ferocity and apprehension perfectly indescribable. In it, too, there was a latent simplicity, the simplicity of ignorance. Single-natured, utterly unlike the many-sided denizens of the North, with all their individuality flowing into one narrow channel, embanked so high by ignorance as to exclude the light of humanity, reason, and justice; not in Dahomey or Ashantee could their leaders have found such blind unreasoning tools to do their miserable work. To survey them was to understand the rebellion, to see it all as in one dreary panorama, stretching, aye, even from the Border-Ruffian prelude on the Kansas and Missouri prairies, downwards. I thought what would Kidd, Blackbeard, Morgan, have given for such fellows as these! Walker had such, but not enough of them.

Here and there you encountered a better face—that of some tall lad, honest and kindly, but educated to that fanatic hatred of the Yankees which supplied the fuel to the devastating fire of rebellion. Such a one, hearing me comment on there being but one South Carolinian present, inquired, "Wonder if *he's* a fanatic, sir?" adding, with a curse on the Palmetto State, "if it hadn't been for *her* we should never have been here now!" The speaker was a Virginian.

SLATERSVILLE, Va., May 16.

Of the rebel dead and wounded and prisoners, I saw at Williamsburg about 2,000. I am uncertain if the remarkable characteristics of these men are at all to be ascribed to their military life, or if, unadulterated in their brutality and pure in their savagery, they are the same now as when lying in their lairs under the thick shadows which landed-aristocracy and slave-proprietorship have forever cast upon them—lying there, glaring through their tangled frontlets of coarse hair, they felt of the edges of their bowie-knives as a pastime, and meditated upon the throats of their enemies. The presumption is that discipline improved these men—that they were more civilized as soldiers than as recruits—for of discipline unquestionably their armies had more or less. The discipline of merely mounting guard and of doing things on compulsion was an improvement to them, and the Mississippi Tiger of May 5, 1862, was a tamer animal than the military rebellion caught in May, 1861. But in other respects I conclude, after much study, that the two Tigers are identical.

Citizens of the State of New York whose residence, or whose commercial anxieties have made them familiar with the tow-paths of the Erie Canal in the last week of November, have a general outline of the rebel soldier, in a ragged, dirty, defiant figure that, slouching his old sunburnt tile against the evening sleet, tramps through the mud behind his team, and with wrathful face covered with rain, hair, and blasphemy, and with the crust of the summer's bad passions fully hardened on it, earns money for the wants of the coming night and the next day, more painfully than any other man in the Canal State, and uniformly leaves behind him the impression that he was abandoned by his parents when he was young, and has been almost abandoned by God ever since. But this man signs his name to the monthly pay roll, and this man can read. And this man takes good care of his horses, and has strong good sense, and is altogether a person susceptible of being indefinitely built upon by any skillful architect of civilization. Only in his costume, and his November dirt, and his neglect, and his quarrel with the universe at the beginning of his night's wading upon the tow-path, does he at all drop to the level of these rebel ruffians. Ignorance, stupidity, suspicion, hate, ferocity, laziness, and twin pride, and twin servility are ineffaceably stamped by the social mint-machinery of the South upon the faces of all the rank and file in her armies. We have no such people in the North. They can be grown and ripened only under the shadow of slavery.

I should be sorry to have communicated the impression that the dirtiness and raggedness of the rebels characterize them to our troops. These may be accidental to the best of armies, and may be the result of poverty. But in this case they were harmonies in a whole. The Yorktown ruffians were unshorn, and greasy, and ragged, and nasty, because they were the "poor whites" of the slave States, and they were repulsively brutal in feature, and sly and sullen, and vindictive and mean, because they were socially oppressed and injured by the huge system of negro slavery in which they had no share. A regiment of Massachusetts troops uniformed out of ragbags, and bedded in Broadway mud for a week, would inevitably be honored everywhere from *The Tribune* rooms to Faneuil Hall. A rebel regiment marched out of a bath, and uniformed by Cullen in his best and newest, would be fallen on by the whole police force of New York City, and hustled off in squads to Blackwell's Island. And in this difference between the two breeds of men lies the germ of a political trouble which had better receive present consideration in Washington. The confiscation of the soil of the rebel States will be found to be a necessity, as well as an act of justice. And a provision for the utter extinction of slavery must precede any scheme of civilization or political concordance, which will enable us to live in peace and quiet with the soldier material of the Southern States.

THE FREEDMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.

PORT ROYAL, May 14, 1862.

On Sunday, impatient, as it would seem, with the delay in recruiting his "Zouaves d'Afrique," the General ordered a collection of all the able-bodied negroes in the plantations held by us to be made at Hilton Head. This was done on Monday, without any explanation at first to the blacks, who submitted in considerable alarm, having the fear of Cuba and of a forced conscription held up to them! It soon came out, however, that the General's intentions were eminently humane and judicious.

The crowd of dark citizens were put into a comfortable camp, well fed, and informed that they were to be registered and have free papers for them and their families; and after proper explanation of the terms and object of enlistment, were *to have their free choice to enlist or return to the plantation.*

I was one of a party who visited their camp this morning, at Gen. Drayton's plantation, about two miles from the Head, and I never saw a happier looking crowd. They were busy at clearing more camp ground, cooking food and other necessary work, and all seemed activity and cheerfulness. Col. Kenzie, lately of Gen. Hunter's staff, commands the regiment. The company officers are taken from the non-commissioned officers and privates of our army, and those I saw there, headed by Capt. Trowbridge of Company A, seemed well chosen and full of the right spirit, and very sanguine of success, both in recruiting and in making a good regiment.

An officer ventured the opinion that when they got their music going, and a few of the Zouaves dressed in uniform, all would enlist who were fit to serve. Gen. Hunter, too, seemed determined that there should be no such word as fail.

Among military men great differences of opinion prevail, but it is believed that, both with soldiers and officers, the movement will be popular, when it is seen how completely it is in the interest of the white soldier as well as the black—by furnishing a force for those kinds of duty and those locations in which the black is safe, while the white soldier can only serve at great hazard.

The 15th May is the extreme date when it is safe for whites to be exposed in certain localities, and even on Hilton Head the ordinary duties (lessened as they have been by Gen. Hunter's sanitary precautions) have caused a great deal of sickness. It is clear that, if the war lasts, we must profit by the example of England in the East and West Indies, and in the hot season keep our white troops only for an emergency, and put as much of the needful work and exposure as possible upon our *black fellow-citizens*, now made free, as a military necessity.

The following is an official copy of the free papers issued to the blacks by Gen. Hunter, under the terms of his proclamation. The deed of emancipation reads as follows:

"It having been proven, to the entire satisfaction of the General commanding the Department of the South, that he bearer, named ——, heretofore held in involuntary servitude, has been directly employed to aid and assist those in rebellion against the United States of America

"Now, be it known to all that, agreeably to the law, *I declare the said person free and forever absolved from all claims to his services. Both he and his wife and his children have full right to go north, south, east or west, as they may decide.*

"Given under my hand, at the Headquarters of the Department of the South, this nineteenth day of April, A.D. 1862. D. HUNTER

"Major-General Commanding"

The Tribune publishes the following extract from a letter from a young scholar and soldier of Massachusetts, who has seen life in schools and life in camps, and who is a Superintendent in the Sea islands:

"The negroes are not lazy, but anxious to work. The Northern people want facts. Let them wait till the harvest, and we will furnish them indisputable facts, notwithstanding everything but a kind providence seems to be against them—no tools, no teams, no food, no clothes—nothing but their hands. I have commenced school, and have two sessions daily. I have ten Primers and one Card, for 125 people. For books I have substituted a black-board, though without any board and without any paint, for the walls of my school-room being green, I have marked letters on them with crayons. The first sentence I put up to be learned was, 'God gives liberty to all.' In my experience as a teacher, I have seen nothing like the zeal of these poor hungry souls. They are greedy for knowledge, and when they come to me for primers, it is pitiful to see their sorrow that I have none for them. We find that the greatest punishment we can inflict is to send them out of school, telling them we will not teach them unless they mind. Two days ago, a man knelt down beside me, and scarcely moved for two hours, so intent was he on learning to read. I thought I would see how long he could bear it, but he tired me out. He reads a piece until he knows every word. They learn quite as easily as our white children. I found one, yesterday, that could read anything in the primer, and could write a little, also."

ASTRÆA AT THE CAPITOL.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, 1862

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

WHEN first I saw our banner wave
Above the nation's council-hall,
I heard beneath its marble wall
The clanking fetters of the slave!

In the foul market-place I stood,
And saw the Christian mother sold,
And childhood with its locks of gold,
Blue-eyed and fair with Saxon blood.

I shut my eyes, I held my breath,
And, smothering down the wrath and shame
That set my Northern blood aflame,
Stood silent—where to speak was death.

Beside me gloomed the prison cell
Where wasted one in slow decline
For uttering simple words of mine,
And loving freedom all too well.

The flag that floated from the dome
Flapped menace in the morning air;
I stood, a perilled stranger, where
The human broker made his home.

For crime was virtue: Gown and Sword
And Law their threefold sanction gave,
And to the quarry of the slave
Went hawking with our symbol-bird.

On the oppressor's side was power;
And yet I knew that every wrong,
However old, however strong,
But waited God's avenging hour.

I knew that truth would crush the lie,—
Somehow, sometime, the end would be;
Yet scarcely dared I hope to see
The triumph with my mortal eye.

But now I see it! In the sun
A free flag floats from yonder dome,
And at the nation's hearth and home
The justice long delayed is done.

Not as we hoped, in calm of prayer,
The message of deliverance comes,
But heralded by roll of drums
On waves of battle-troubled air!

'Midst sounds that madden and appal,
The song that Bethlehem's shepherds knew!—
The harp of David melting through
The demon-agonies of Saul!

Not as we hoped; but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty.

I cavil not with Him: the voice
That freedom's blessed gospel tells
Is sweet to me as silver bells,
Rejoicing!—yea, I will rejoice!

Dear friends, still toiling in the sun—
Ye dearer ones who, gone before,
Are watching from the eternal shore
The slow work by your hands begun,—

Rejoice with me! The chastening rod
Blossoms with love; the furnace heat
Grows cool beneath His blessed feet
Whose form is as the Son of God!

Rejoice! Our Marah's bitter springs
Are sweetened; on our ground of grief
Rise day by day in strong relief
The prophecies of better things.

Rejoice in hope! The day and night
Are one with God, and one with them
Who see by faith the cloudy hem
Of Judgment fringed with Mercy's light!

—*Atlantic Monthly, for June.*

VIRGINIA BARBARISM.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

WINCHESTER, Va., May 14, 1862.

WHEN the Massachusetts Second came here the negroes told me that the "mummy," as they call it, of John Brown's son, who was killed in the engine house, was preserved in the office of Dr. Maguire, who is medical director in the rebel army. The soldiers immediately took possession of it, and placed it under the charge of the Post Surgeon, who desires to keep it as a medical preparation. The arteries are injected and the muscles displayed in the usual manner. My first impression was that it should be given over to the family for decent interment; but a medical friend suggests to me that, so long as it can be visited, as doubtless it will be when the surgeon takes it to the North by thousands, it will tell the tale of the horrid brutality with which it was treated by the Virginia savages. The skin was stripped off and tanned. It was then prepared as an anatomical specimen. The physician who achieved the job became mad and died, the blacks say and believe, as a judgment of Heaven.

The population of Winchester is near five thousand, of which one thousand are negroes. It would be difficult to find in any part of the world a thousand laborers who are taking better care of themselves. Many of them are free, and owners of real estate. Marcia Weaver, a straight-haired woman, who was left free by her mistress before she was twenty years old, owns two houses and the land on which they are built. One she gave to a daughter as a marriage portion. But the most imposing piece of black statuary I have ever seen is Evelina Orrick, sixty years of age, nearly six feet in height and broad in proportion. She has been the mother of twenty-six children, the first five by a white bachelor and involuntarily. By her legal husband she had twenty-one. She says "the Lord has been very good to her in taking twenty of them to their heavenly home." One of the last who died was a daughter, at the age of eleven years, who "left her testimony." To my question what that meant, she answered, with an elevated expression of countenance: "She felt the grace of the Father, and as she bade us farewell, testified to His goodness." The conversation of this old grandmother is perfectly grammatical, and free from the common negro peculiarities of pronunciation. She is yet a slave, but so good and strong within herself as to be above the injuries of slavery.

Mary Strange, a free woman, I believe, fills the town with her jolly exuberance of spirits and her uproarious rejoicing over the triumph and the presence of the Northern troops. When our sick were first lodged here she set the example of kindness to them by sending into the hospital a dozen pair of chickens, and the colored people generally contributed, according to their means, comforts and delicacies. I could add many similar statements to show that the negroes are wickedly slandered by those who, in our own Congress, as well as in the rebel papers North and South, represent that they are a stolid and helpless race. It is astonishing to observe how quickly they detect a Northern countenance. "Well, we are having better times now, are we not?" I said to an old man. "Golly, massa, dat we are," was his answer, as his blackest of faces was lit up with vivacity and ivory. "Massa, I know'd you wusn't one of dem wicked slaveholders jis as soon as I see eyes on yo'—didn't I do'?" The morally cultivated part of the population of Winchester is the negro class.

The whites, with some exceptions, are as hard as flint, and frightfully inhuman. Many years ago some judicial proceedings in New Orleans brought to light the shocking cruelty of a Madame Lalaurie, who had kept in a close garret a number of old and sick slaves, on short allowance of food, with design to hasten their death and get rid of the expense of supporting them. There is a similar case here. The same Dr. Maguire who instigated the contemptuous treatment of the dead body of young Brown has kept in an outhouse a palsied old negro man, who is fed and taken care of gratuitously by other slaves. In the winter he was without fire or bed, and his piteous cries for help were heard all through the neighborhood.

The "secesh women" of Winchester are rattlesnakes and vipers. They insult our soldiers by spitting at them from upper windows, and by "jawing" at them, of which the patient fellows take no notice. They wear the rebel flag in the streets, and shout for the "Confederacy." Daily, at five o'clock in the afternoon, there is a prayer-meeting at the house of a Mr. Logan, where about thirty women and eight men pray for the success of Jeff Davis. Some of the women go round a block to avoid walking under the Stars and Stripes, whereat our men are diverted, and they contemplate blockading them by stretching flags across the other streets. These spiteful and malignant creatures will give the government more trouble than the men. They seem resolved to keep alive the watchwords of rebellion and mischief.

The cruelties of Jackson to the loyal people of Winchester were such only as savages are used to practise. He marched off old men who could not fight, and made them walk many miles through the deep mud of winter. A venerable Quaker, Job Throckmorton by name, was so forced off, and broke down under the hardship and exposure. He was taken sick and sent to the rebel hospital. His relatives were refused all access to him, and punishment threatened to any one who might tell where he was, and he died of neglect and ill-treatment. This is but one of many instances of the ferocity of these barbarians.

VESPERS AT VENICE.

Translated for THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD from the German of GEIBEL.

AVE MARIA! Sea and Heaven rest;
From all the towers peals out the bell's clear tone;
Ave Maria! Leave all earthly quest,
Pray to the Virgin, to the Virgin's son;
The hosts of Heaven in all their glory drest,
With lily-wands kneel at the Father's throne,
And through the rosy clouds glad anthems flow
From happy spirits to our world below.

Oh holy Worship, that through every breast
Doth penetrate with wondrous trembling light!
Oh blessed Faith, that to thy heavenly rest
Art upward borne upon Prayer's pinion white,
While grief dissolves in tears at your behest,
Soft wings the Jubilate of delight.
Ave Maria! At the bell's glad voice
The Earth and Heaven, reconciled, rejoice.

THE FREEDMEN UNDER GEN. BURNSIDE.

[Our long-time friend and fellow-worker, ELIAS SMITH, having been among the Freedmen in Gen. Burnside's Department, communicated the following observations to *The Independent.*]

THE victories of Gen. Burnside, in North Carolina, have produced the same effects upon the *status* of the colored people, slave and free, which attend the steady march of the Union army in all other parts of the South. For the time being, they are as effectually emancipated from their owners' control as if a decree of the government had set them free. The slaves regard the presence of the troops as a guarantee of their freedom. The stories told them by their masters, of the cruel character of the Northern people—that they would have their "hamstrings cut, and be sold to Cuba, to pay the expenses of the war," were never believed by them, although for the time being they permitted their masters to think they believed it.

Upon our arrival at Hatteras, whole families came down from Roanoke, escaping in boats, under cover of the night, and volunteered information to Gen. Burnside, as to the position and strength of the Confederates. The information, which was found to be in nearly all cases correct, was of the most valuable character. One black boy, of eighteen years of age, drew for the General a precise description of the forts on Roanoke, pointing out their location, and giving the number of guns in each, and also described the battery, with its approaches and surrounding swamps, at which the principal battle was afterwards fought. He was used as a guide.

During the protracted gales of January, while the fleet was delayed at Hatteras, and the expedition threatened with total demoralization, white pilots could not be induced, for any consideration, to assist in extricating us from our difficulties; and the poor whites, who had been fed by corn and flour sent from New York to keep them from starvation, kept aloof, or lent themselves to the service of the enemy by carrying information of the condition of the fleet. Meantime, the negroes were constantly employed by Capt. Clark, commissary of the post, in rowing boats among the shipping, transporting stores, unloading vessels, and performing other kinds of the hardest labor. They worked cheerfully, cooked and ate their rations with thankfulness, and rendered valuable assistance to the expedition.

A whole boat-load of fishermen and pilots, who were brought by force from Oracoke to assist in extricating our vessels, were dismissed by Com. Goldsborough, under the belief that they would do more harm than good; while the loyalty of the blacks was never for a moment distrusted, or confidence in them found to be misplaced. A black traitor has not yet been found.

At Roanoke the slaves, who had been compelled to leave the island on the approach of Gen. Burnside, returned at the first opportunity; and many of those who had been compelled to work on the rebel fortifications came down and sought employment and protection upon the arrival of the troops. Whole schooner loads of contrabands came from Elizabeth City and places on Albemarle Sound. They were made useful as cooks and camp servants; employed in the hospitals; in the construction of wharves by Mr. David Crockett, who found them very willing and efficient laborers; and finally, in building Union forts on the east side of the island, to command Roanoke Sound.

One vessel containing twenty-five persons, a portion of them children, were fallen in with by Gen. Foster, in one of his expeditions up Albemarle Sound. He placed a pilot on board, who conducted them to Roanoke, where they came to anchor a short distance from the shore. In a short time the whole party engaged in singing hymns, which drew a crowd of soldiers to the shore, and many visitors from the vessels. They were celebrating their deliverance from bondage.

I witnessed another affecting example of the same kind at Hatteras, when a party of forty-two men, women and children arrived from South Creek on Pamlico river. After finding themselves really among friends, they joined in singing some of their simple chants and hymns; and when the party were being transferred to the shore, one of the women, with an infant at her breast, broke forth in exclamations of praise and thanksgiving to God, which in its simple pathos reminded me of the song of Miriam celebrating the deliverance of the children of Israel on the banks of the Red Sea. They walked in slow and solemn procession up to Fort Clark, chanting as they went:

"Oh! ain't I glad to get out de wilderness."

The master-spirit of this party was a little wiry old man, probably fifty years of age, whom they addressed as "Uncle Stephen." With a very dilapidated hat, clothes torn to shreds, and shoes tied up with thongs, he appeared the impersonation of Mrs. Stowe's Dred. He carried a double-barreled shot-gun; a leather pouch, in which were a tinder-horn, flint, and steel; a powder-horn; and a case-knife sharpened to a point. The history of this old slave, as detailed by himself, in simple yet earnest eloquence, was most impressive. His master had paddled to death three of his fellow-slaves, because they did not make corn enough to suit him, and Stephen, frightened and desperate, fled to the woods. By his savings he purchased a gun and some powder and shot, and from that day he bade good-bye to the plantation, and defied the white man's authority. On one occasion he was pursued and fired at by a party of negro-hunters, who left a ball in his elbow. He drove back his pursuers and killed two bloodhounds with his gun. He laid five weeks in a hollow tree, fed by a faithful slave, until his wound was healed, and for *five years he has wandered in the "Pocosius" along Pamlico river and Sound, far from human habitations, and obtaining his living by hunting.* On Monday week Uncle Stephen was still at Hatteras. At Newbern I found colored persons from Pitt County, who verified all the main particulars of Stephen's narrative. Having no further use for his gun, I purchased the weapon of him, and shall treasure it as a real trophy of the war.

Over six hundred colored people, slave and free, now attend an evening school in Newbern, which has been opened by Mr. Vincent Colyer, the agent of the Young Men's Christian Association. They fill the Methodist church, entry and all, and throng the doorway, impatiently waiting their turn to be visited by the teachers. The officers of the 25th Massachusetts Regiment, which is quartered in the town, have generously come forward as teachers. The pupils, old and young together, are divided into classes, and maniest the greatest eagerness to learn. I visited this school on Friday evening last, and saw with my own eyes abundant proof of the capacity of the slaves for acquiring knowledge. Some of them could read quite well, and are candidates for teachers. Mr. Colyer is pursuing a careful and discreet course, and is sustained by the Provost Marshal and the General commanding.

Some eight hundred contrabands are employed on the fortifications and other public works, receiving eight dollars per month with their rations. Between these rates and the wages paid to the soldiers there is a saving of five dollars per month on each person, which, in the aggregate, pays for the provisions dispensed to the poor whites and blacks of the town.

SHOCKING REVELATIONS.

[The Hartford *Evening Press* is permitted to make the following extracts from a private letter written by an officer now confined in Richmond. *The Press* vouches for the genuineness of the letter; and prints the repulsive details in the hope that the publication may stimulate relief for the sufferers.]

* * OUR condition is most dark and dreary. There are only three windows to the room and those on one end. The floor is always in a filthy condition. It having been used for a pork warehouse (immediately before we were removed to it, however, for a slave-pen), the floor is perfectly saturated with grease. This makes it impossible to get it clean, and causes it to be coated with an amalgam of pork-fat and all kinds of dirt. In walking, this vile stuff adheres to the shoes, and we need a scraper more in walking here than you do in walking in the street. Then add to this the filth that comes from above. Almost four hundred men are on the two floors above us, and frequently, as it has now been the case for two days, their water closets overflow and discharge their awful contents upon us. This comes down sometimes in torrents. Yesterday it poured down where a captain was lying with a broken leg. He had to be moved as quickly as possible, and has not been able to occupy his place since on account of this stream of pollution flowing from above. A similar stream, with scarcely an intermission, has been now for two days pouring down into the cook-room, which is a room partitioned off in one corner of the one which we occupy. All our cooking is done in this room. You will say, "how can you eat?" I answer I have scarcely thought of the matter in relation to eating. Our *schooling has prepared* us for it. You will wish to know what my food is. This I can soon tell you, though I might give you a dietetic history which would painfully interest you. Our food as furnished by the Southern Confederacy consists in the morning of bread and meat; for dinner, meat and bread, for tea, meat and bread, and bread and meat. This is all; and this is all we get unless we have money to send out for articles. Many times we cannot do this when we have the money, as we have not been able to do so now for three days. Therefore we have had no sugar, no coffee, no potatoes, no money. All these articles are rarities, costing immensely. We have made out to supply ourselves comfortably well by the blessing of a kind Providence.

May 1st.—It is May-day, but what a dreary one! —dark and lowry without, and the floods within have continued all night, and still pour down upon us from the sinks and privy-holes above. We are the sewer for near four hundred men. There is not a foot in the cook-room excepting under the stove which is not covered with water. A hole has been cut in the ceiling which lets most of the water down in one place, instead of sifting it down all over. Several holes in the plank of *this* floor have been cut this morning to allow the water standing on it to pass through into the basement, which has long since become an awful muck-hole. Thus, everything is being prepared for the work of disease when the warm weather shall come. The measles have already broken out among us.

On the whole, we are in a most deplorable condition, and what aggravates this unbearable state, is the sending home of the men, and non-commissioned officers, while the officers are still held in custody. All the officers wear the most gloomy faces. Our fate is uncertain. So far as we can judge (being denied the papers entirely, one man being a few days ago gagged, and then made to keep time half a day at a time in order to compel him to tell how a paper was got in) our army from the Rappahannock seems to be moving on this place. In this case we shall by no means be suffered to remain in Richmond, but will undoubtedly be sent South. You can imagine the undesirableness of this.

May 2d.—The rumor is that the officers are to be taken South. This is very probable. Report says we are to be taken to Salisbury, N. C. It may be interesting to you and others to know something about what are here called citizen prisoners. They are Union men, citizens of the Southern States. I do not know whether this is the only depot for this kind of prisoners. But there are hundreds in this place. I know but few of them. Some act as cooks in the lower kitchen, and bring our meat and bread in to us. All these men are, in every respect, very worthy. There were three ministers among them. One has died. The cause of his sickness and death reveals the barbarism of the rebels, and at the same time what the Union men suffer. This Mr. Webster, for such was his name, was a citizen of Fairfax County, taken prisoner about a month before his death. He was taken with the following men who were engaged in the peaceful occupations of life. William S. Spur, aged 52 years; Isaac Wibirt, 65 years of age; C. White, Wm. Showers, 70 years old. These men were not, in one instance, permitted to go into their houses for money or clothing, or to bid their friends good-bye. They were marched with the army eight days, during which time they slept out doors (it being in the month of January) and had but one meal per day. When the age of these men is considered, the barbarism is unparalleled. But something worse than this follows. On the second day's march, Mr. Showers, who had reached his three-score years and ten, dropped down dead on the road. The battalion halted not for a moment, and the officer in command forbade any attention whatever to be paid to the dead man, save to carry the body and place it by the wayside. There it was left. On the third day's march a negro dropped down dead, and his remains were served in the same way. The desolation wrought by these heartless rebels is actually beyond description. I have seen men by scores taken to the prison, frequently followed by their wives and children until they were repulsed by the guards. And in one case the husband and wife kissed over the bayonet, the husband disappearing within the prison, while the wife went weeping away. I could write much more on this painful subject, but this will suffice to give you some idea of the state of things.

Evening, May 2d.—We have had a most terrible day. The floods from above continue. At one time, while writing this letter, the pipe from the upper closets burst, and discharged the excrement of 400 men upon us, filling the room with the villanous odor. It fell within a few feet of our dining table. Every man lit his pipe and smoked for his life. The awful stench is still in the room. I do not write this to add to your affliction, but I have concluded you would like to know just how we are situated; and I am convinced also that the people of the North *ought* to know how their officers are treated. Many who have gone home have not given the true view. I have told the truth in this letter. You are at liberty to publish extracts from it. You must not permit my name to appear, for one man, for getting a letter through, telling facts, was put into a criminal cell, and fed on bread and water for ten days. Many of the letters of the prisoners published at the North appear in the Southern papers..

HOW HUNTER'S PROCLAMATION WAS RECEIVED BY THE ARMY.

Tribune Correspondence.

FREDERICKSBURG, Va., May 19, 1862.

GEN. HUNTER'S proclamation has been the chief topic of conversation to-day among all classes, from the Brigadier-General commanding a division down to the intelligent black brushing his coat. While a few of the Generals observe a dignified caution in expressing their opinion, the great majority of the officers and common soldiers are bold and outspoken, and rejoice, not that the blacks are to be emancipated, for that is simply a question of time, but that the rebels are to be punished, and that without mercy. No one can mingle freely with the army of the Rappahannock without being convinced that there is great dissatisfaction at the leniency observed toward the leading rebels. Says a Brigadier-General, "this rebellion will not be crushed until these pompous, strutting planters are made to feel the rod; they now walk into our tents, demand protection for their property, talk about their constitutional rights, and, in the same breath swear that Lincoln and his whole d——d tribe will never be able to make them take the oath of allegiance."

This desire to see the rebels punished in the most severe manner is not confined to the soldiers, but is still stronger, if possible, with two classes who are seldom spoken of in this relation—the true Union men who have been persecuted, and the poor white trash who have been so long ground to the earth and held socially beneath the negro. The Union men are in favor of severe confiscation laws, because they know they will be compelled to leave their homes, after our army is withdrawn, if the rebels still retain their large plantations and the power to combine against them, while the poor whites are eagerly waiting for the opportunity to purchase their 25, 50, or 100 acres of land in the beautiful valleys of Virginia which they are satisfied they will never be able to do while the barons of the South possess the power and the inclination to prevent it.

Washington, May 20.—A leading member of Congress, just arrived from the Peninsula of Yorktown, where he talked much with the soldiers, says that that army will welcome Gen. Hunter's proclamation. The troops are greatly exasperated with the rebels, fresh proofs of whose barbarity meet them at every step of their advance. They think that no punishment too severe can be meted out to them, and they are unable to understand why it is that those of them whose houses they pass on the march are so sedulously protected in person and property.

MENDACITY OF THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

From The Clerkenwell (London) News.

IN a recent number of this miserable pro-slavery and secession print, the editorial vials of wrath were poured upon the head of Mr. George Thompson, to whose speeches on the other side of the Atlantic the present crisis is attributed. As a specimen of the writer's veracity we may state that the alleged *quid pro quo* for his first American trip, when his life was hunted for and a reward of $5,000 was offered for his apprehension, was an *immediate* seat in Parliament for the Tower Hamlets, *procured him by the government.* The facts are these: Mr. Thompson's return to England was in 1835; his election for the Tower Hamlets was in 1847; the immediate seat in Parliament was therefore twelve years afterwards. On that occasion, moreover, he defeated one of the then ministers, Major-Gen. Fox, the Master-General of the Ordnance, and who was also a son-in-law of King William the Fourth. In 1851, Mr. Thompson again visited the United States, which journey led to the loss of his seat for this same, the largest borough constituency of the United Kingdom. Mr. Thompson was always in